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The
FORUM
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JAPANESE AGGRESSION

By J. M. INMAN

A BRIEF history of the struggle in California against the aggression of the Japanese seems necessary and may be illuminating.

After some abortive attempts to solve the question by way of legislative action, the first real action was taken by California during the early part of 1913. That action came in the form of the old Alien Land Law, and, while not specifically naming the Japanese, was frankly aimed at that race. It soon become apparent that, with the aid of white dummies, and through dummy corporations and children born of alien parents in this country, the law was wholly ineffective to accomplish the results sought. Therefore, at the session of the California legislature of 1919, I introduced a series of bills in the Senate dealing with the various situations confronting us, including the evasions of the law and the so-called "picture bride evil."

Immediately the measures were introduced a tremendous outcry was raised and finally the Secretary of State of the United States was appealed to, and he requested the California legislature to refrain from the passage or consideration of laws dealing with the Japanese question at that time. In the face of that request it was found impossible to proceed.

Appeals were made to the Governor to call a special session of the legislature, or to include it in his call for a special session to ratify the Woman Suffrage Amendment

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to the Federal Constitution. These appeals being in vain, an organization was formed for the purpose of attempting the solution of the problems confronting us. This organization, known as the "California Oriental Exclusion League," immediately took steps to place the matter directly before the people in the form of an initiative measure. As soon as the provisions of this proposed measure became known to the Japanese and pro-Japanese it became the center of a most bitter attack. One of the most costly and intensive campaigns ever launched in California was brought to bear to defeat this bill. But in spite of this, and the fact that those of us behind the measure were practically without means to make the fight, the measure carried on November 2 by the largest vote ever given to any measure in the State of California.

Now it has been claimed that this measure is contrary to the Treaty existing between this country and Japan, but the Bill speaks for itself on that point:

> Section 1. All aliens eligible to citizenship under the laws of the United States acquire, possess, enjoy, transmit and inherit real property or any interest therein, in this State, in the same manner and to the same extent as citizens of the United States except as otherwise provided by the laws of this State.
>
> Sec. 2. All aliens other than those mentioned in Section 1 of this Act may acquire, possess, enjoy and transfer real property, or any interest therein, in this State, in the manner and to the extent and for the purpose prescribed by any treaty now existing between the Government of the United States and the Nation or country of which such alien is a citizen or subject, and not otherwise.

NO OPPRESSION OR UNFRIENDLINESS

Now throughout all this bitter campaign, so far as I know, not one act of oppression or unfriendliness occurred toward these people; the people of this State, granting to them every attribute which they claimed, maintained that they, being wholly unassimilable into our body politic, should be excluded from the ownership of our lands. And while our attitude was friendly, we nevertheless firmly in-

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sisted that it was within the State's right to so exclude them.

And with due regard to the rest of the nation, of which we were a part, we insisted that we would not become a Japanese province, as had Hawaii. We recognized that the question had two phases, to wit: a national and a State, and we were and are firmly determined to settle the State issue once and for all. We then expect to have the National Government settle the question, as it should be settled, with regard to the welfare of California, and not for that of Japan. And we rest confident, when the question is settled, as settled it must be, it will protect the right of the Pacific Coast.

Now we have been roundly abused by some of our Eastern brethren, more especially by those of the cloth, for our treatment of these people. They and many of our well wishers of the Eastern United States fail to understand, and frankly admit it, why we take the attitude we do toward these aliens. Being sober, industrious, peaceful and law-abiding and containing within their population neither anarchist, bomb-thrower, red nor I. W. W., it cannot be understood by our Eastern brethren why they are not welcomed into our midst with open arms. Our answer is contained in the one good old Anglo-Saxon word "Unassimilable."

The good old American melting pot has received and digested some awful loads. You may take an Englishman and an Irishman, a Dutchman and a Frenchman, an Italian and a Greek and toss the whole into the great pot and out of it comes an *American,* that great hybrid of all the nations, that great hybrid that, at Château Thierry, stopped the Hun dead in his tracks and on the fields of Flanders taught the world how to die.

Now you can put into that great pot the Englishman and the Irishman, the German and the Frenchman, the Italian and the Greek and the result is, as we have shown, the great American hybrid, but toss into that medley of races one *Oriental* and the pot refuses to function.

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ORIENTAL WON'T ASSIMILATE

The Oriental comes to California to make his fortune, as has many a foreigner before him, but he refuses to conform to the American standard of living; he refuses to become a part of this great commonwealth; he herds by himself; he forms his own Oriental community. In other words he cannot and will not *assimilate*. You can take any number of examples right here in the City of Sacramento, the Capital City of California, and below Fourth street you hear little but the "hiss" of the Japanese tongue—block after block has become a miniature Tokio.

Take the little town of Florin, also in this county. A few years since it was a typical American community, with its American shopkeeper, its American hotels, its American school, and Aye! its American saloon, perhaps. Now all is changed; scarce do you see a white face; all has disappeared under the "rising tide of yellow"; in the Florin school, out of one hundred and thirty-five pupils, *eighty-five are Japanese*. The Sacramento Grand Jury in a recent report said of this school: "So rapidly is the Japanese population growing to the exclusion of the whites that, in a year or two, all children in school will be Japanese. The upper and out-growing grades have the only white enrollment."

In a recent report of the California Board of Control, this language occurs:

> "It is interesting to note that in some of the richest counties of the State, Orientals occupy a total acreage ranging from 50 per cent to 75 per cent of the total irrigated area; notably, San Joaquin County, with a total of 130,000 irrigated acres with Orientals occupying 95,829 acres; Colusa, with a total of 70,000 acres, with Orientals occupying 51,105 acres; Placer County, with 19,000 total, Orientals occupying 16,321 acres; and Sacramento County 80,000, Orientals occupying 64,860."

Mr. V. S. McClatchy, in his argument before the Congressional Committee used this significant language, which remains undisproved and undisputed:

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"The comparative birth rate per thousand of the Japanese becomes a vital factor in this problem; for if it be true that though they constitute today less than one-thirtieth of the population of the State, their birth rate, notwithstanding the small proportion of females among them, is three times as great as that of the whites, then it is only a question of time when they will outnumber the whites. That would be true even if immigration were to cease entirely. Continue to admit immigration, or increase the proportion of Japanese females, and the day when the white race in California will be in the minority will be brought much closer. In Hawaii it is now at hand. A continuance of existing conditions will produce in all other States of the Union, the result which is looming above the horizon in California.

"When it is remembered that this prolific race is unassimilable in the great American melting pot, and invincible in economic competition with our people, the gravity of the problem is apparent."

JAPANESE INCREASING IN CALIFORNIA

The following table gives the births, deaths and marriages among the Japanese in California for a period of thirteen years from 1906. The heavy death rate in 1918 was due largely to influenza and pneumonia:

Year	Births	Deaths	Marriages
1906	134	384	Prior to 1911 Japanese marriages were not tabulated separately from Caucasians.
1907	221	517	
1908	455	431	
1909	682	450	
1910	719	444	
1911	995	472	589
1912	1467	524	906
1913	2215	613	718
1914	2874	628	887
1915	3342	663	907
1916	3721	739	705
1917	4108	910	349
1918	4219	1493	129
1919	4378		

Prior to May, 1907, the Government insisted on a marriage ceremony on American Soil, but wily alien statesmen convinced Uncle Sam that this was an infringement on

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the customs of the Japanese. The requirement was abolished and thereupon the number of Japanese weddings at the port of San Francisco dropped from an average of 40 to 50 per month to two or three per month.

The California State Board of Health, in its Twenty-fifth Biennial report gives the following vital statistics of births for 1917: White, 47,313; Japanese, 4,108; Chinese, 419; Negro, 328; Indian, 52.

The report makes this comment: "The per cent white decreased steadily through the last 12 years, thus: 98.04 (1906); 97.07; 96.8; 86.3; 96.1; 95.5; 84.6; 93.2; 91.9; 91.3; 91.4; (1917)."

The decrease in the proportion of white babies is due to marked increase in Japanese birth registration. According to the table the increase in thirteen years, from 1906, is *3000 per cent.*"

Now, do our Eastern brethren think this is all mere chance? Will they receive with open minds proof that it is all a gigantic scheme to *colonize one of their sister States* as they have colonized one of our territories, Hawaii? Will they believe that the birth rate of the Japanese is but an incident, or that it, too, is a part of the plan?

AMAZING JAPANESE APPEAL

Let us consider this amazing appeal to the Japanese recently published in the *Japanese-American,* a Japanese newspaper published in San Francisco:

> "Awake! Even if we cannot expand our country's borders, let us expand with all speed the Yamato Race, of which we are justly proud. What I mean is simply this: I firmly believe that it is only by the propagation of our Yamato Race, by every good Japanese, that we can solve the anti-Japanese, nay, the Japan-American problem. And this is the conclusion to which I have arrived during the past year. For the next ten, twenty, fifty, or one hundred years, beget! beget! Children, boys and girls, will be treasures more valuable to you, Countrymen, than hundreds of millions of gold. And at the same time they are the supreme treasures for the development of our Race. . . . Let those

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who live in separate houses immediately live together in one house. Let newly married people at once adopt sons and have them registered. Let married people without children, all the more, immediately adopt sons and bring them to America. Then immediately give a lovely bride to the adopted son. And let everyone who has dependent relatives immediately send for them and bring them over. . . . That strange doctrine of birth-control, which those who fear America, are advocating, is nothing but the first step in the destruction of our boasted Yamato Race."

The Editor of the *New World* points with derision at the efforts of the California Legislature to stay the land grabbing of his race. The editorial is entitled "Japanese Should Co-operate and Advance," with a sub-caption: "If we Hesitate the Bigots will take Advantage." The editorial says in part:

"Even if photograph marriages should be prohibited we cannot be stopped from leaving our descendants on this American continent. Even if not a single Japanese woman comes it is impossible to prevent the seed of our great Yamato race from being sown on the American continent by marriages with American, French, with Indian and with negroes; especially since there are already a hundred thousand Japanese here and five thousand children are born annually. Phelan and Inman cannot stop this great force. What stupidity! What ignorance of a mighty force! . . . Again let us consider the land law. Supposing that the ideas of Phelan and Inman were carried out, and we Japanese were prohibited from owning or cultivating land, we would find some way to continue farming and making a good living as producers. (If we cannot conveniently do so in California *we shall go to other states and devise some plan.* Even the laws of California are not forever unchangeable. *The day will come when the real strength of the Japanese will make a clean sweep of all such laws.*"

Listen to the same view:

"Let there be a hundred or a thousand anti-Japanese movements; let laws be made; let laws be amended. Foolish agitators will have their day; wise ones will sometimes raise their voices. All these are temporary, but our great racial activities are eternal. All we have to do is to stand firm on the single point of justice,

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unite our strength and move forward energetically in various quarters of the business world."

The Japanese have in the Hawaiian Islands four times the population as the Chinese or Portugese or Hawaiians or other whites; and a Japanese clergyman, not a year ago, made the proud boast that: "In 1933 the Japanese will control the situation in Honolulu, an American City, capital of an American dependency."

And in conclusion, you, our Eastern brethren, bear with us of the Pacific Coast in the solution of this vital problem; believe us when we say that the stars in Old Glory shine just as brightly for us as they do for you; believe us when we say to you that grim visaged war is just as hideous to us as it is to you, and if war should come (and it certainly will not) over this question we of the Pacific Coast will be the first to feel its horrors. But we say to you again, that we *refuse* to yield up this golden land, bought with the blood of our forefathers, to the conquest of an alien race, whether that conquest be *peaceful* or otherwise.

This problem should have been solved years ago; it must be solved sometime, why not now?

We, of California, believe that we have violated no legal or treaty right in our treatment of the alien land question; that we have shown no discrimination, and that no nation or people has the right to be offended.

Believing this, and with firm reliance upon the justice of our position, and with all deference and consideration for the feelings and the views of others and with not the slightest desire to offend the sensibility of a friendly people or to precipitate our Country into difficulties, we nevertheless insist upon a solution of these questions, to the end that peace may prevail, and that this land may be preserved to the descendants of the white race.

And, to paraphrase the language of a martyred President.—"No State may continue to exist half white and half yellow."

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A CLEVELAND VIEW OF 1920

By GEORGE F. PARKER

FOR the fifth time in a hundred and twenty years a decisive change has come in the direction of the political course pursued by a great people.

The first was that of Thomas Jefferson in 1800, perhaps the most nearly an accident of all thus far registered. The Federal Government was only twelve years old—eight of which had been passed under the Presidency of George Washington. Four years of living under his successor had done much to throw away the results reached during the first two terms of the Presidency, and to arouse personal enmities in the budding parties of the day. Thus Jefferson's success, carrying with it the defeat, in his own party, of his dangerous rival, Burr, soon shaded into the Era of Good Feeling, during which we blundered into the war of 1812 and muddled out of it. At no time in our history has there been so much floundering as during the twenty-eight years which followed the 4th of March, 1801. When history deals with this time, it concedes a certain brilliancy of theory but accepts as inevitable the weakness, the fatuity, the almost absolute lack of executive capacity in Jefferson, Madison, Monroe and Adams and expresses less surprise that we plunged into this period of commonplace than that we ever came out of it. Perhaps much of this was due to the fact that the nation was young and that, as a people, we were still imperfectly developed.

It ought not be necessary to search for another reason to explain why Jackson in spite of his positiveness, bigotry, ignorance and truculence, should have come into power.

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The desire to escape from mediocrity was sufficient explanation. Then, for the first time, we came to know what personal authority in government meant, as no more Cæsar-like character has arisen in modern history anywhere.

Then came the slavery agitation and from 1840 to 1860 we fooled and muddled with that, all the time expanding in area, and increasing in numbers, wealth and national power, but developing a sort of truculence incident to the parvenue and an almost superstitious dread lest some man might be chosen to the Presidency who would be another Jackson. Out of this came the Presidential election of 1860 when, as a result of the most far-reaching party division thus far seen, Abraham Lincoln, although in a minority, was elected President. As a result of the conditions precedent came the Civil War, of which neither the history nor its later effects need to be recited anew.

EARLY POLITICAL FIATS

The next great political decision was registered in 1884 when reaction from the war period finally and, without any open inter-party division or serious dispute, brought about the election of Grover Cleveland. This, too, has produced results, the effects of which have not yet been fully appreciated. Since that time we have had new forms of party manipulation, changes in nominating and electoral conditions, an enormous growth of population, a most disturbing lack of assimilation and a gradual change, all along the line, in everything that may make or mar the character of a people.

Interspersed among these various periods were elections of various degrees of interest, oftentimes with candidates of mediocre ability on both sides; sometimes with picturesque accompaniments like that of 1840; others that have taken place in the midst of civil war; or in the face of party revolts like that of 1896, which, in its action, was threatening in its probable effects; and that of 1912, when great results were to flow from open division in a great party

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which threw into power a little known man thus unexpectedly commissioned to conduct the affairs of the country in one of the greatest crises we have ever encountered. However, none of these was decisive in either principles or majorities, so that only the four I have enumerated may be classed as vital examples so far as far-reaching effects were involved.

Even these vital movements, in spite of the marvelous changes which they produced in men and sometimes in temporary policies, have carried with them no real revolution, nor even the suggestion of it, in the spirit and trend of our institutions. These have been as positive as those which would have been seen in the strongest and most settled society known to the world's history. These upheavals —because they are nothing more—all come under the operation of the ideas and policies fundamental to republican institutions.

THE CLEVELAND OVERTURN

Now, after thirty-six years has come another great overturn. It has grown out of influences scarcely necessary more than to mention. First, came the four years of Cleveland which entirely broke the connection after twenty-four years of uninterrupted power which had developed as if it had been all these years in the hands of a single man. The new President's work had to be reconstructive. It had to restore many of the conditions—so far as a real union was concerned—that had existed prior to the Civil War. But the time available was so short that it was almost impossible for him more than to indicate what he would have liked to do. If he had had eight years of uninterrupted power, he would certainly have made his stronger personal impression upon the country than was possible during his fugitive four-year period.

The Harrison term was almost futile, not because of any special weakness in the character of the man, but for the better reason that he also came in as a sort of stopgap,

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and so had no time fully to restore the party traditions, ideas and policies that had dominated his period and his whole life. No measure of strength would have enabled him, or anybody else, to make consistent the administration from 1889 to 1893. Political policies have a continuing force and this was especially true when the connection had once been broken between the old-time tariff and strong government ideas and the new. After Grover Cleveland sent his annual message to Congress in 1887, the preservation and restoration of the protective idea, as developed during the Civil War, become hopeless; so it is not at all unfair, in spite of Harrison's high aims, merits and abilities, to pronounce his administration to be practically a failure.

So fatal was this break that when Cleveland returned for another four years he was confronted with the same difficulties. The same impossibilities met him at every turn. There could be little consistency in what he undertook to do, because he was compelled to review with almost unsparing persistence the actions of his immediate predecessor. So, in spite of the great acts that Cleveland was permitted to do, he was compelled to go still deeper into the matter of fundamental policies than any of his predecessors since Jackson. But all his important steps were new. It fell to him to complete the destruction of protection; to fix finally the gold standard; to assert the power of the Federal Government to protect itself; and to extend and solidify the Monroe Doctrine. Every other policy distinctive to his party and its traditions had to be abandoned. It lay beyond the power of any man, or any combination of men, to execute the new policies that fell to him and at the same time to maintain and improve the old ones. Thus he had to plough a lonely furrow.

The fatal Bryan campaign was the beginning of successful modern demagogy. All the constructive agencies of both parties and of the country itself were threatened. While he did not succeed, his personality and his outstanding oratorical gifts gave him a hearing and aroused in all

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our people discontent and the spirit of radicalism. Conservatism was practically buried, because Mr. McKinley, when he came in, found his work cut out for him in the conduct of a little war which, though forced upon him, had, in its turn, such large results that it deflected the course of our history.

Then came Roosevelt, who took up many of the ideas that Bryan had advanced and soon fitted them to himself and that, too, having back of him official power and a personality which gave him a hearing while repressing everything and everybody else.

Then followed the four quiet conservative years of Mr. Taft, accompanied by fundamental difficulties so serious that, again, time did not permit him to make any adequate impression. This was accompanied by that serious and fatal party quarrel in 1912 and the accession of Wilson.

If Bryan and Roosevelt had put on and worn the mantle of the agitator, Wilson donned all his garments. So that out of these peculiar conditions, none of them fundamental, like the key cases already mentioned, but reproductions of scenes that have been witnessed throughout all history, came our belated and incomplete participation in the Great War and the natural upsetting of society following it, added to the conditions which had been accumulating force through the previous sixty years.

It is these things that have produced the confusion, the lack of principle, the absence of patriotic devotion, and the curious state into which the country has been plunged during the past few years. The lack of assimilation, which upset all calculations or probabilities, has made it almost impossible, during the thirty-six year period preceding the election of 1920, to strengthen the stable, wholesome, and constructive political forces—a process that would have followed logically as the country grew older. It is these conditions that have to be considered when we come to the discussion of the events which happened last November,

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when a really great popular overturn has asserted itself for the fifth time in our brief history.

HARDING'S OBLIGATION TO DEMOCRATS

In dealing with the recent upheaval, the most decisive of the series in terms of numbers and majorities, it is important to remember, first, that it was not personal to the candidates who were men of respectable parts and character with a varied experience, but that neither was an outstanding figure. It is well to bear in mind, too, that it was far from being a party victory. The enormous majorities show that partisanship really had a small influence. Naturally, the machinery of the two great organizations was used and had its influence. The mass of the voters acted through them, in the usual blind way, but the independent vote proved itself such a strong force that the unsuccessful candidate can flatter himself that he has received a very large number of votes outside of the formal ranks in which he had been enlisted, and the successful candidate can go his own way without obligation to any of the groups of voters that finally supported him. Neither the Irish, German, Italian, Jewish, capitalistic or labor vote can prefer any claim for special recognition. He has been elected without reference to any one of them or even to all combined.

Aside from his own party, Senator Harding's obligation is greatest to the Democrats. They have come to the front in an absolutely astounding way. Probably ninety per cent of the Democratic voters of the country who were attached to Grover Cleveland or to his memory and to the ideas that he represented have voted for the successful candidate. This quiet revolt, foreseen by those who knew, is due to undying opposition to the President and was invited by him. From the beginning of his public career to its end, even during all the ups and downs of a great war, he has distinctly declined and refused to pay even the smallest attention or respect to the Cleveland forces. No member of it was even suggested for his cabinet—something that,

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under the circumstances, none expected. Almost none was appointed even to the most insignificant places. This was so obvious that while, during the war, many Republicans were asked to Washington to take some sort of a place in the overmastering machine then organized, there is no record that any Cleveland man of the smallest rank or calibre was invited to accept one.

THE DEMOCRATIC REVOLT

This is due to many reasons. The Cleveland element opposed the nomination of Wilson in 1912 but acquiesced in his election. It was not enthusiastic for him in the election of 1916, and, as the war approached, its attitude continued to be one of suspicion, almost of enmity, because the people composing it were generally in favor of early and positive action. In reality it was opposed from the beginning to Wilson and to Wilsonism. Its members knew how he had been nominated for Governor of New Jersey by Cleveland followers: they knew how he had turned against them long before the time came to go to Trenton and it was seen with the utmost clearness that its own element was to be neglected and flouted. There was, therefore, no reason why the President should expect, or the Cleveland Democrats should give, any support to him and his policies other than that demanded by unselfish patriotic exertion. This they contributed in an unusual measure and the fact that this had been their attitude rather than more bitter and determined opposition finally forced a great proportion of them to the support of Senator Harding.

Naturally, Mr. Cox had no attraction for them because, during the campaign, he did not so much as mention Cleveland, the one dominant and the latest historical figure in his party. He, therefore, added to rather than mitigated the opposition enlisted to the Administration.

This wholesale flocking to the Republican candidate for President seems to have grown rapidly into a pretty firmly fixed Democratic habit. In 1896, not less than a

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million, so distributed over the country as to give them the highest effectiveness, voted for McKinley and assured his election. In 1900, half this number repeated the process for McKinley and in 1908 for Taft, so that by their efforts Bryanism was finally and forever crushed, and Bryan reduced to political impotence. This year, so strong had the habit become that not less than two million men and women of Democratic faith or inheritance cast their votes for Warren G. Harding. No more unselfish demonstration of independence and patriotism has been seen in our history, during times of peace, than this consistent devotion to ideas and ideals. In none of these instances has there been any thought of direct recognition, any hope or desire for office. It must not be concluded that this course has been taken with any large degree of enthusiasm; to the contrary, it has been entered upon with a regret amounting to sorrow that their own party should have proven so unworthy, as to make necessary such a policy.

NO CHANGE IN FOREIGN POLICY WANTED

The event is so recent and the result so overwhelming that it is difficult, so soon after it has been closed, to analyze the various causes that have promoted this remarkable change in public sentiment, but the principal one may now be frankly discussed. In some places where a saw is used a sign is generally seen phrased in the vernacular which commands "Do not fool with the buzz saw!" This advice might be parodied for every President, Secretary of State or other responsible official of the United States to read, "Do not fool with the foreign relations of the country." In spite of the assertion often, but mistakenly made, that we have no foreign policy, the truth is that in our history nothing has changed less from the beginning than the rules and regulations governing our association with the outside world. It has long been a recognized fact that, whatever might happen in England, the foreign service was continu-

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ous and unchangeable and we now know that the same conditions have prevailed here.

When the President hesitated about meeting the obvious sentiment of the country which favored our participation in the war; when instead of acting he wrote notes every day or so to countries that he knew were wholly hostile; when he threw away all our traditions and himself went abroad to conduct peace negotiations instead of sending commissioners; when he refused to consult the United States Senate in its constitutional function of making treaties; when he declined to furnish information either to the Senate or to the country; when he announced that the covenant would be so enfolded in the treaty that they could not be separated; and when he declined and refused to consider any of the reservations made by the body having co-ordinate power with him, then he was fooling with our foreign policies and any intelligent person ought to have seen that he was taking the political life of himself and of his party in his hands. His example, which was new, broke all precedents, and in the future it will probably never be followed by even the boldest and most confident.

Thus, for the first time in the varied history of our politics foreign affairs come to be a dominating issue in a Presidential election. That there was dissatisfaction with the management of domestic concerns is certain; but these, looked upon as minor, were included in the larger policy when it was suspected that the Administration had neglected or overlooked our interests; when there was even the suggestion of a surrender of our long established rights resentment became strong, and the popular verdict was to show that it was deep-seated and probably permanent. Even the charge that the Senate was seeking to isolate us from the rest of the world reacted because the people of the country knew instinctively that, from the beginning of our history, we had uniformly held close and dignified intercourse with other countries. The fact that more than half our population was derived from immigrants who had come

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here within the preceding eighty years disproved this charge. The further fact that since the Civil War we had been the consistent and unvarying advocates of international arbitration and that the great war was precipitated by Germany, with deliberate purpose as the result of its refusal, in the first Hague Conference, to accept, or permit the acceptance, on large lines, of the principle of arbitration.

During the nineteenth century we had entered into forty-nine agreements with twenty foreign governments for the settlement of disputes each of which, if left to itself, might have led to war. It was also recognized, that, as a result of our example, this policy had so spread that Great Britain and France, as well as many other nations, had entered into like treaties during the same period. Our people, therefore, knew that there was nothing in the claim that we were seeking to isolate ourselves. The fact that we finally entered upon the war as an associate and ally of the powers opposed to the Central Empires was another and most illuminating proof of this devotion to, and knowledge of, world affairs.

SURPRISING SERIES OF BLUNDERS

In some respects this election result is the most pathetic, the most pitiable in all our history. It is purely personal; not, indeed, to a successful candidate, not to a defeated one, not to a successful party, nor yet to one that has been defeated. The personality affected, it must be said in sorrow and humiliation, was the President of the United States, who, by his position, if not by his character, ability and patriotism, is always entitled, and generally commands, the attention, even the admiration, and in a large measure the respect of his countrymen and the world.

There have been cases before when, for a time, a President has failed to command support from our people, when the tides of opposition have run so high as to be almost overwhelming, but at some time during service in his great office, or, as in the cases of Cleveland and Roosevelt, even

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long afterwards, by some act, sometimes small though generally large and comprehensive, which demonstrated the loftiness of his thought, or by the outstanding character of his patriotism, he has at once redeemed himself, for good and all.

Nor will it do to say that this result is the outcome from any determination on the part of the adherents of the opposing party to break the President, who had been the candidate of their rivals and to withhold from him that meed of respect, or that rightful use of the power in his hands, that must inhere in the head of a great people. Entering office with an almost overwhelming support from an unusual variety of political forces, with his partisan opponents not only divided into two angry camps, each swearing vengeance upon the other, with a friendly Congress behind him, with support from more various elements among the American people, than had been brought together since the days of Lincoln, Woodrow Wilson entered the Presidency, the very darling of fortune, holding almost the primacy among her favorites. His great abilities were known and respected, his almost phenomenal training, his gifts for exposition which were exaggerated even by those who most distrusted his party and many of his announced aims, his character, which though not outstanding in its dignity was deemed clear enough to warrant his recognition as a living worthy, so that the country was in such a receptive mood that it would have followed him wherever reason and patriotism had prompted.

GREAT OPPORTUNITIES WASTED

Many great problems awaited consideration and would have had it, without question, even under the stress of party feeling, which, by this time, owing to faction, had reached almost its lowest ebb. Questions of labor and capital, fiscal and financial policies, high problems in public morals demanding presentation and discussion, might easily have been put on the way to settlement. The support was ready

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and would have been forthcoming just as the flow of water follows the opening of a valve. There was an opportunity to promote great morals and by a larger patriotism to get the country away from localism, from faction, from the grosser selfish interests, so potent in their hold upon men.

These were great opportunities and, in due time, a little more than a year after the inauguration, there came the great chance which only comes to a people slowly and in terms of eras, not of years. Civilization was suddenly attacked in Belgium. It was not merely the ideas behind American life that were put to the test; it was the spirit, the soul of the great Christendom under whose ægis the active, pulsating Western world had been living and striving for more than fifteen hundred years, that was thus threatened. America constituted a large part of this life in numbers but it had a much larger share when considered in its relation to the hopes of mankind. All the older countries, from mighty England to small struggling Rumania; from France, that Greece of the new Western world, to the remotest small kingdom in the Balkans, those rugged hard-featured descendants of the older civilizations that lie at the base of our own; even Japan, that new and strange apparition in the Orient, sprang to arms as if with a single impulse. The people of America, the very crown and hope of liberty, were in full accord and ready, waiting for the word from their head in order to plunge into the conflict.

But just then something happened. The President of the United States, unable to interpret that great sentiment which, upon the sinking of the *Lusitania* on May 7th, 1915, was so strong that no less than ninety per cent of our people, mixed as they were in race, religion and opinion, though not in purpose, were clamorous to enter the war. These vast masses never stopped to ask whether they were prepared or not. They saw only the peril, the needs of the world and the call to meet them. Then began that period of nearly two years of industrious and persistent note-writing, to enemy and friend alike, just as a hesitant or cowardly indi-

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vidual might have indulged in to meet the attacks or the threats of a burglar or the attacks of an assassin. It was supposed to be clever, as indeed it was in language, but it was then suspected to be what we now know it to have been, mere higgling, *Hamlet's* words, words, words, while, all the time, the burglary was coming nearer and nearer to complete success.

Long after national patience had been more than exhausted, when some kind of action became an obvious necessity, we finally entered the war, and with it, in spite of the delay, the absence of any large recognition of the duty of preparing for it, in the face of bad management and a muddling that discredited our people, there came a universal popular response never seen in all the history of war. Without regard to sex, age, race, religion, politics, place of birth, or origin came a support that even in its telling, to future ages must always remain a marvel. This was not done for Woodrow Wilson but was the product of his belated act as President of the United States and, with prudence, assured to him, as a man, and statesman all the prestige that goes with a great act even when done with hesitation and long after due time.

WOODROW WILSON'S SUPREME CHANCE

Up to the day of the meeting of the Peace Conference and even long after, this support continued in full force and flow, and then came the fatal moment, its approach proclaimed, not by the American people, not by the Democratic party or its foil, the Republican, not by an enemy or a friend, but by the President of the United States himself. Acclaimed abroad as the representative, although only self-chosen, of a great country, he had the supreme chance in the peaceful history of mankind, not only to send his name echoing down the ages but to gain that nearer and dearer guerdon, the universal support of his own countrymen. Alas! he preferred to have the approval of his own vanity, seeming, all at once, in what must have been a moment of

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madness, to look for nothing but his own approval, his own glory. A proper respect for his countrymen, the choice of a Commission, if not in all its members, then at least in two or three or even a single one, which would have shown that the country had not been reduced to the necessity for a dictator would have enabled him to do what he would with the people of his country.

Is it any wonder that when a free people has a chance to deal with such acts and to pronounce a verdict upon them, it should use a sledge rather than a velvet-covered tack hammer?

AMERICA FACING NEW PROBLEMS

The historical examples cited are less interesting in themselves than as guides. Our particular present is not only different in the questions to be dealt with but we are surrounded by a people who look out upon the great world about them with other eyes. Their days of simplicity, based upon both hopes and fears, have been succeeded by a consciousness of power and a growing sense of responsibility in everything that bears a relation to government. Their predecessors knew that they could meet the small demands made upon them while the people of the present cannot quite understand what, with mandates and other demands, the great world may call upon them to undertake. Although they are still the creatures of individualism, the dim idea of a threatening collectivism stands behind their every movement.

But they have now to realize that industry must be so organized as to enlarge both its outlook and its boundaries; that an almost unlimited debt, accumulated without thought or design, must be paid as such obligations have been met in the past and that this involves new taxing methods; that their former simple way of getting a large proportion of their revenue from tariffs must, of necessity, as the late Senator Aldrich warned, be given up in the face of needs so great that even the most extravagant duties would furnish

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only the traditional drop in the bucket; nor had they, previously, seen themselves threatened by groups unknown to their predecessors each looking for some advantage of its own—something to be drawn from the common fund whether of property or effort, and, generally speaking, without any obligation to make a fair return for it; never before has there been seen that coarse propaganda, carried on with coarser methods, appealing to classes and special interests, a process which has succeeded to the earlier, more sober and more direct appeals to what were then diverted to the intelligence as well as the interests of all their people, nor have they in the resulting confusion been able to see the end from the beginning; they have known that the need existed for still further immigration from Europe both for themselves and for the good of their countries of origin but they have also feared the blood-thinning process that pushed itself upon them from Poland, Russia, and the lower Balkans, and yet, they have perceived, even more clearly, that they did need additional people from the Northern countries of Europe which have already furnished themselves and their helpful associates: it was not entirely clear to them that the so-called labor question had degenerated from a process into a problem, due, almost wholly to the narrow selfishness and the inefficiency of the men they have permitted to manage it and to the solidarity which was imported into this work, nor did they clearly recognize that, in all its truculent and pretentious methods, it was breaking down.

Every one of these tendencies is new since Jefferson's day, new since Jackson's, new since Lincoln's, new even since Cleveland's, so that there is apparent all the more need for the preservation of sturdy, efficient American ideas —ideas which enabled their predecessors to meet every demand upon them. It is this revival of ideas that has lain at the very foundation of the issues that have made the election of 1920 different from its predecessors. So that we confront the problems incident to a restoration of ideals and

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also those relating to wholesome and continuous development of both people and material resources. We have tended to forget that, in harmony with their religion, all Western peoples are individualists, and that, under the workings of this idea they must assume responsibility, that when any elements, large or small, whether it was an Oriental population, or a group of assertive collectivists has projected itself among us everywhere, we have always failed to assimilate them into our life and their presence has thrown upon us an element wholly alien to healthy development—something both difficult and impossible of digestion.

But none of these or any other things that are unfavorable can be cured as the result of this election or of any other; this process can only be effected by movements down among our people. Misgovernment, the abuse of public power has caused many of these uncanny and threatening tendencies but we must come back to our people in their individual and their associated capacities as citizens and insist that they shall overcome them. It is not a matter of what is called reform—a word so common that it has become meaningless and tiresome—but ability to do the best of which human nature, working under existing conditions and its natural weaknesses, is capable. What is needed is the power to reward good work, the strength to punish infractions of laws, whether legislative or moral. We are no longer expecting the daily advent of millenniums, indeed we are beginning to see that we are hardly ready for them. But this election is, in the main, a hint that we ought not to hesitate much longer about doing honest work in the best way possible.

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THE CHILD CRISIS IN EASTERN EUROPE

By LYMAN BRYSON

[*Major, American Red Cross and Special Commissioner to Europe*]

IT is a fortunate thing for the Europe of tomorrow that the memory of children is short. If they could remember what they have seen and felt in the six years just past and what millions of them are suffering now, they could not build the next world with faith. Wars and all social disasters fall most heavily upon the children who never make wars, and stay longer with them. After the period of homelessness and starvation which is not over yet for millions in eastern Europe there is still to come a period of reconstruction, when the necessity for re-establishing economic and political institutions will push the needs of the children aside. No matter how much they want to, the countries of Europe cannot take adequate care of their children for years to come.

In the meantime, as a result of six years, the children are facing a crisis which will put many of them beyond the reach of tardy help. This crisis is not altogether a matter of food. It is partly the need for other creature comforts, partly the need of education and partly the need for repairing damage already done to their minds and bodies.

All figures as to the general situation of child life in Europe are necessarily rather hazardous estimates. Their accuracy is least in regions where the need for help is obviously greatest. If the map of Europe were shaded to show where distress is most acute the blackest belt would lie along the western borders of Russia, and run from the

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Baltic Sea south and east to Constantinople. It would cover the eastern portions of Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Austria, Hungary, Serbia, Rumania, and Ukrainia. It would not be so black in the west but even in France, Belgium and Italy, where country districts have been devastated, it would still show great need.

Real information as to the present state of child life in the eastern part of Europe is impossible, however, because at times like these when care and protection fail the children, the ordinary social agencies for investigation and information also fail to record the disaster. When doctors and nurses are lacking as a result of war and epidemics, the information which their knowledge would have accumulated is also lacking. A solitary Red Cross hospital may be an outpost against a flood of misery and menacing disease. Doctors there may know that its doors are besieged by crowds of pleading mothers whose children can be saved only by their skill. But no one on such a staff can under those circumstances undertake to say how many are ill, how many thousands more may be out of reach of all help.

FIVE MILLION CHILDREN PERISHING

The American Red Cross and Red Cross societies of other nations and relief agencies of any sort can only depend upon the observations of their field agents. These observations concur in the estimate that several million school children, perhaps as many as four or five million, face serious undernourishment this winter, a somewhat smaller number are threatened with homelessness, neglect and exposure to disease. Hundreds of thousands, perhaps two million altogether, are in such shape as a result of starvation and neglect already suffered they will need special care if they are ever to regain normal strength.

The first phase of the problem is the greatest but at the same time the simplest. It has already been demonstrated in Europe that millions of school children can be fed at a very small cost by a small staff of carefully selected

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workers and by use of local help for the preparation and distribution of food. This was done successfully by the Hoover organization in many places, by the American Red Cross in the Baltic, Vienna, Montenegro and elsewhere, and by the Junior Department of the American Red Cross in Belgium. Such a mass operation saves the great bulk of the children in the crisis from slipping further back. Such feeding will probably be necessary this winter for the Baltic provinces, Poland, parts of Czecho-Slovakia and Austria if not for other regions.

Good crops which have been reported for eastern Europe have affected this general need for food somewhat, but the breakdown of transportation systems and political difficulties will result in the wasting of a considerable part of the already inadequate supply.

CONDITIONS IN VIENNA AND POLAND

The plight of Vienna, surrounded by enemies that were formerly subject to her empire, is the best known example of a city at whose gates is comparative plenty but in whose streets starvation is taking toll. The money of the Viennese bourgeoisie is worth nothing even to the peasant of his own country. And for the peasants of the former subject lands just outside her new, tightly drawn borders her money is worth less than nothing. It is said that an able-bodied man, if he is lucky enough to find work in Vienna and spends his whole wages for food, can buy about half enough for his own normal needs. If he has a family of children they must somehow subsist on what he can spare from his own half portion. It is not surprising that the death rate for babies in Vienna is five or six times what it was in 1914.

In Poland the spectacle is not of a city encircled by hostility, but a desolated country swept by a crowd of women, old men and children, who have been driven about for almost six years. There are children in Poland, many of them, who have reached the age of five or six years and

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have never had a home—have been refugees since birth. They have been born in ditches, have grown in camps and on the march and have died without knowing that there could be such a thing as a home.

RESULTS OF UNDERNOURISHMENT

What Vienna offers as an example of starvation and Poland as an example of neglect—examples which can be repeated with modifications in any part of eastern Europe, are enough to show the present crisis. But beneath this more obvious need there is the necessity to repair before it is too late the damage already done. Undernourishment has retarded the growth of the whole child population of eastern Europe two or three, perhaps four years. It is one of the commonest of experiences among relief workers, even after they have become accustomed to conditions, to learn that a child who appears to be normally healthy at the age of ten or eleven is really aged thirteen or fourteen. It is as if the clock had cheated them, as if time had leaped ahead while they stood still, overwhelmed by the smash-up of everything about them. And with that retardation has come the liability to disease. They have suffered not only from the general epidemics of communicable diseases, like typhus for instance, which are certain to repeat themselves again this winter, but also from tuberculosis and from rickets. Neglect and starvation are the taking down of the barriers of strength and resistance and leave them helpless.

The relation between undernourishment and disease may be indicated by the results of medical examinations given children before feeding campaigns by American funds, particularly Mr. Hoover's fund. In Vienna, for example, at the beginning of the feeding campaign, which began some months after the armistice, 207,000 children were examined. Only 7,000 of these were getting enough food in their homes and of the remaining 200,000, about 97,000, or almost half, were seriously threatened by disease as a result of their undernourishment.

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POLAND'S FATHERLESS BAIRNS

Some of the conditions reported to the child welfare conference in Geneva last February show in sweeping figures the prevalence of ill health. It was said by Alice Hentsch that 1,500,000 children, or 47 per cent of the estimated child population of Poland were seriously threatened with disease. This would be a terrible thing for an equipped nation to face. For Poland without doctors or nurses, stripped of resources, without even food or shelter as a basis for bringing these children back to health, it is an indescribable disaster. Like all the other nations that are still paying for the war, Poland is as well aware of the problem and the crisis as any outsider could be. But knowledge cannot help her because her man power and "help" power must be spread over too many things. Among these children are perhaps half a million who are fatherless and even the little help from the humble earnings of their parents is impossible for them.

At the Geneva conference it was reported that the 500,000 orphans of Jugo-Slavia needed milk and medicine. They needed and still need doctors and nurses, educational help and clothing as well.

The Bishop of Oxford who advised the conference of conditions in the Baltic republics of Latvia and Esthonia said that in those two small countries alone there were 350,000 children who needed help. "The most pressing need is for medicine, disinfectants, food and clothing," were his terms in describing what he had seen.

Wide-spread disease among the children of the North would naturally follow the conditions under which they live. In brief visits to the northern regions I myself have seen hundreds of little boys and girls running around in the snow and slush, barefooted and even those who can cover their feet have nothing but cloth slippers. Outside the barbed wire barrier of a typhus camp in the shore of the Gulf of Finland, last winter, in the twilight cold of February, I saw a little boy running about in the snow,

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dressed in a suit of cotton pajamas and with nothing on his feet or his head. He ventured very fearfully from the door of his log home to pick up a scrap of paper that had caught his eye blowing down the road. When he did retrieve that piece of paper for a plaything he dodged back into his home—but in that home there was no fire. His father was inside the typhus barrier with little chance of living. He was typical of thousands throughout the Baltic and Polish territory.

PROMPT RELIEF MEASURES IMPERATIVE

It is believed that prompt and generous action this winter may save many lives among these children and that if they are helped in meeting the crisis of this winter it may not be so acutely necessary to help them again.

What is done to tide them over the winter and to repair what has already been inflicted upon them before it is too late will depend very largely upon the degree to which the American people are still willing to respond to such a need. Through one agency alone, the American Red Cross, they expended more than $50,000,000 in the twelve months ending July 1, 1920. At the close of that period American Red Cross work was still going on in Poland, Serbia, Montenegro, Albania, the Baltic States, Vienna and Budapest, Constantinople and the Crimea. In France and Belgium and Italy where millions of civilians, particularly women and children, have been helped, it had been closed. Greece and Rumania had ceased to be the field for active work except in baby clinics.

The expenditure of great amounts of money and the devotion of individual American workers in several organizations have left a deep impress upon the minds and the hearts of the suffering people for whom they were sent abroad. Those friendly emissaries will not be forgotten —but in the meantime misery still sits on the eastern doorstep of Europe and waits

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POST-WAR PROPHECIES

By HON. WILLIAM RENWICK RIDDELL, LL.D.

I DO not think that it is of vital importance to the world whether the present League of Nations be adopted or not; the peace of the world, the whole future of the world will ultimately rest upon something quite other than the League of Nations—it will rest upon the peace, the harmony, the soul-unity of the English-speaking peoples. This is no new thought. More than a hundred years ago, Richard Rush, long the American Ambassador to London, the Rush who in 1817 as Acting Secretary of State agreed with Charles Bagot in passing the Rush-Bagot Convention whereby our international waters were freed from the pollution of armed keels, said, "Let the peace between the United States and England be broken and the arch which supports the peace of the world falls in ruins."

And if that were true (and should have been manifest), a century ago, how much more manifest is it today?

No one needs to wonder at the love for France in this great Republic—for did not France play a noble part in the struggle for independence of the Thirteen Colonies? But the feeling for France is largely superimposed—her people are of a different race, her language is strange, her customs not the same, whereas the English-speaking peoples wherever they may be found are of similar origin, largely of the same stock, and their language that which the American learns at his mother's knee—bone of his bone, flesh of his flesh.

Of course, as in families, quarrels will arise, misunderstandings, even fierce disputes, but they are family quarrels, disputes which we arrange ourselves and in which we brook no interference of the outsider. In Britain the humiliation

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of defeat a century and a half ago is lost in admiration and pride in the progress of her mighty offspring. Washington is a national hero across the sea, he is looked upon as an English general, an English statesman, an English patriot, just as he lived and died an English gentleman. I can conceive no reason why Americans should rancorously brood over the events of the Revolution or treasure enmity against the Old Land or her people. That prejudice, almost dead before the war and apparently absolutely killed by the war, is notoriously being revived by certain classes —it is the devil's work, this keeping alive and increasing those feelings of enmity and distrust which are a curse to all English-speaking peoples. But the devil is stupid, as he always was—the people of the United States have been too busy to give much attention to these plotters and mischief makers; but sometime they will get around to them and they will disappear—*spurlos versenkt.*

UNITY OF ENGLISH-SPEAKING PEOPLES

For more than a century there has been peace among the English-speaking peoples; the example of such nations strong and high spirited, with that chastity of honor which felt a stain like a wound, it can be no disgrace for any nation however proud, however strong to follow—nay, to be forced to follow however unwilling. We must not again have the old weary round—peace, ambition, arrogance, unreasonable national claims, and war. Never again is it to be the age-old Burden of Dumah "Watchman what of the night! Watchman what of the night?!" and the reply "The morning cometh and also the night." The morn has come and there must be no more night of blood and agony and death.

As it has been the privilege of the English-speaking peoples to set that great example, it must be their task to see to it that the example is followed by others.

It is said that had the Kaiser believed that Britain would go to war, he would not have declared war. That is prob-

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ably true. It is certainly true that if, in July, 1914, the Kaiser has foreseen that the United States would sooner or later, and in any case before the end, be found fighting by the side of Britain, he would never have had a war. Wilhelm took himself seriously, indeed believed, really believed, for there was no pose about it, that his people were supermen and he a divine agent; but, crazy as he was with arrogance and pride, he had gleams of reason; he was not so crazy as to imagine that he could make headway against such a combination.

That very great American who has just passed from us, the American who seemed to typify the American spirit more than any other man of our generation, one whom I loved as a brother and differed from on almost every conceivable question, when inspecting the Canal Zone gave utterance to a sentiment in which I think all agree. We are told that making an inspection of the wards of Ancon Hospital, C. Z., the commanding officer accompanying him explained the classifications of the occupants stating the terms "American Medical Ward," "American Surgical Ward," etc. On approaching another the introduction was "Foreign Surgical Ward." On their entrance an ex-soldier of the British army saluted. This arrested his attention and he, returning the salute, spoke to the patient asking several pertinent questions, at the close of which he turned to the C. O. saying: "Did you tell me this is the foreign ward! What is this patient doing here? No Britisher is a foreigner to an American. Have this man transferred to an American Ward."

These words of Theodore Roosevelt contain a pregnant truth— and thank God for that truth!

If an Englishman cannot be a foreigner to an American, what of the Canadian?

Canadians we are to the finger tips and proud of it, British we are to the last drop of our blood and with no desire to change our position, yet, born on this great Continent, we have from infancy breathed her free air, we have

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joint possession with Americans of her mighty territory, and we are joint custodians of her mighty destiny. Americans we are not; but in the highest and best sense of the word we are American.

With negligible exceptions American statesmen, American leaders of public thought in universities and elsewhere, American writers, American poets are in harmony with that thought.

Divided as we are in political allegiance, strangers to each other by international law, we are united by a higher law—the very statute of Heaven itself, the eternal rule that like will like like.

Eleven years ago, before an American audience, I ventured to say:

> "Many a heart, not American, was glad when this nation acquired territory not on the North American Continent—knowing that this of necessity meant that the United States with or without her desire must now take some greater part in world-politics—take her share of 'the white man's burden.' And when she began to build a navy commensurate with her greatness and importance in the world some saw with the eye of faith two twin fleets sailing forth together under the flags which float over kindred freemen—these fleets bearing the single mandate, 'There shall be no more war.' My Sovereign, who amongst all his titles, treasures most that which is unofficial, Edward the Peacemaker, has his due influence in preserving peace; the President of the United States, perhaps as much, possibly still more. Some there are, however, who recognize only force. But when such a fleet shall sail with such a mandate, there will be no more war—or only one. They who are mad enough to disobey the command of the Admirals of that united fleet, will bitterly rue their temerity—and their disobedience will be the last."

The world has changed much in these eleven years, we are in a new world and many old things have passed away—but were I called upon again to prophesy, I should say the same but even more emphatically—whatever else may be said of military and naval strength, the combined fleets of Great Britain and the United States can command and en-

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force peace at the peril of war unutterable, of annihilation of the recalcitrant.

And somehow, in some combination, on some terms, written or implied, these fleets will be found ready, and ready to act together in the greatest of all causes to prevent war, the sum of all iniquities. Canada will be there bearing her full share. The pomp and circumstance of glorious war, grim visaged war, the mighty scourge of war, can never again be the idol of the nations—true, the Junker whose trade is war, whose training is war will, like the arch-fiend, give his counsel for open war—but his day is done.

THE BOLSHEVIST "SUPERMAN"

War between the nations coming to an end as soon it must, what of war within the nations? After every great war there has been unrest discontent with former and existing conditions—that is more natural and to be expected—but there never has been anything like the present. A whole nation of hundreds of millions seem to have gone insane—and certainly those who have the power profess a political creed, a system of social ethics, which to any reasonable mind is madness itself and based upon the most fantastical conceptions. A revolution, ostensibly for the working man and the farmer, compels the former to work for wages, for the hours, at the work prescribed for him, orders the latter to deliver over the produce of his labor for a price in fixing which he has no voice. Revolting against the tyranny of the Czar which banished plotters to Siberia, those at present in authority prescribe the penalty of death for all who disobey—nay for all who speak or write in opposition to their directions. Revolution ostensibly to bring about peace, the present rulers shoot a deputation of soldiers craving peace with Poland. With a stern hand destroying the thief, they also destroy the Czar and his innocent children. All this might be no concern of the rest of the world; but the same Government which has no means to prevent

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starvation at home has thousands and millions to spread its noxious doctrines in other countries—to England they come to bribe workmen and the workmen's journals, through Canada to the United States, through the United States to Canada. Wholly ungrateful, for did not the United States ask for and obtain the release of Trotsky from Canadian arrest and thereby enable him to do his fearful work in Russia? and did not the United States protect and foster Lenin in his day of poverty and weakness? And were not thousands sheltered by Britain and by Canada? Wholly ungrateful, they seem to have made an especial onslaught upon the English-speaking peoples.

This movement is directed to the destruction of everything upon which we have prided ourselves—our civilization, our security for person and property, our system of government, our democracy and our rule by majorities without disregard of the rights of minorities—avowedly destruction is sought, root and branch destruction—in order that a new tree may be planted—that the absolute government of one class may prevail. No longer do we hear of the Rights of Man but of the rights of a class—men are not created equal, they are not endowed by the Creator with unalienable rights, they have no right to life, liberty or the pursuit of happiness. A new class of superman is formed who have all the rights, the rest of the world only duties.

There is a democracy worth having and the world must be made safe for that democracy, but this travesty of a democracy is a democracy from which the world must be saved, or otherwise all the gain of the centuries is lost and chaos is come again.

"PARLOR" AND REAL BOLSHEVIKS

You will probably think that the "parlor Bolshevik" may in most cases be neglected. He is a "cootie," a parasite, who repays warmth and comfort and protection by petty annoyance and irritation, very occasionally he may carry a

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deadly germ; but it is rare that he has blood or brains enough, Let him go, he is a nuisance, nothing more; or better—devise some scheme whereby he may have an opportunity to try the desiderated rule—have him quietly deported and give him the experience of being forced to join a Bolshevist labor battalion on penalty of starving as was the cruel fate of the hundred or more enthusiasts recently deported from the United States. It is said that their idea of a Bolshevist practice was rudely shattered and they longed for the ease, comfort and security of the land which they had troubled and whose laws and government they had repudiated with bitter curses.

And, law-abiding man as I am, I could not feel alarmed or shocked when I read that on Armistice Day in London some of the decent women of that City spanked Sylvia Pankhurst's ill-mannered and worse-principled crew.

But the real, the working, Bolshevik is another matter: often a fanatic, generally skilful or at least cunning, he is always a real danger. He makes common cause with laborers, he pretends to share their burdens, and he infects them with the most deadly poison. Claiming at every turn the protection of the Constitution and the law, he preaches subversion of the Constitution and contempt for all law.

England has her hands full with them, treacherous, wholly unreliable; and we on this Continent must be on the alert—in the face of our common danger we must work all together. It is such an assault on all that we hold dear which must make us work together—it is the Anglo-Saxon conception which is attacked and there can be no discharge in that war.

We live side by side in peace and amity, and almost as one people. An American finds himself at home in Canada, a Canadian in the United States. We exchange our products, natural and otherwise, the United States give us a Van Horne and a Lord Shaughnessy and we give the United States a Franklin Lane and an Admiral Sims. We feel more and more our unity, a unity which depends not on

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descent, although both peoples have much the same ancestry and there is that in blood which will not down—nor on language, although identity of language is of tremendous import—nor on religion and what is more powerful than religion?

Race, language, religion, all are significant—immensely significant, but they are not everything; they are not even crucial.

What binds us and unifies us as one is our common conception of human rights—individual rights—and the relative rights and duties of the state and the individual.

While we proudly sing

> "We must be free or die who speak the tongue
> That Shakespeare spoke; the faith and morals hold
> Which Milton held—in all things we are sprung
> From Earth's first blood, have titles manifold,"

there is nothing so strange or so transcendent in our conceptions as that they may not be fully comprehended and firmly held by a Chinese, a Buddhist, one speaking in a Turanian tongue.

There still exists an unending conflict between ideals of the state and of the individual, their relative rights and duties. That the state is a reality differing from and in some sense transcending any present aggregation of changing and perishing individuals all will admit—but its true function is not universally agreed upon.

Plato sought in vain for a divine Revelation in the universal sentiments of all peoples and nations, *Semper, ubique et ab omnibus*—he found it not.

TRUE FUNCTION OF THE STATE

Since primeval days there have been and are still the two irreconcilable views of the true function of the state—and we, all the English-speaking peoples, have adopted the same. We hold that the state exists for the individual, to keep the peace, to prevent the settlement of disputes by

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the strong arm, to force arbitration or judicial determination of differences, to prevent aggression on the weaker, the satisfying of wants or greed by stealthy larceny or open robbery, to encourage industry, integrity and peace among its people. The state owes all these duties to the citizen—the citizen owes nothing to the state but loyal assistance in the performance of its duties—the state does not transcend the individual. The citizen has the fullest right of action consistent with the similar, the identical, rights of other citizens. That is liberty—all else is slavery open or disguised. We "acknowledge liberty with audible and absolute acknowledgment and set slavery at naught for life or death." That is the democracy that is being attacked. What are our defences?

There is, perhaps, no need or little need of further legislation, in Canada at all events. We have laws sufficient to meet all cases. There may be real need of co-operation. Situated as are the two English-speaking countries of this Continent, they have ideal conditions for unity of action. We have no difficulty in preventing the honest workman coming into either country under contract express or implied to perform honest work. Can we not prevent the dishonest workman entering either country under contract express or implied to do the fiendish work on which he is set? We have no difficulty in excluding the blind, the diseased, who seek out shores as a haven leading to relief from poverty; can we not succeed in excluding those blind to the advantages of our democracy, diseased with the worst of all antisocial diseases, who seek our shores as a vantage ground upon which to work to inflict poverty and woe upon all?

All this lies before us sun clear—and none cares to deny the present and pressing duty except the enemy; but there remains much that is not plain and is not admitted by all.

Is the lot of the common man all that it should be?

True, after every great war there is social unrest, the feeling that all is not well, that injustice is rampant, that the real workers and saviors of society do not receive their

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due reward. While much of this at the present time is factitious and without foundation in reason and fact—is it all unfounded? Are we not ourselves blind to many things —sometimes perhaps wilfully blind to unpleasant truths, but for the most part blind because we do not think? More evil is wrought by want of thought than by want of heart—we must take thought. The best way to avoid the spread of mischievous doctrines, doctrines antagonistic to our civilization, is to sterilize the soil against the seeds by making the classes likely to be affected by them happy in their lot —even if that means a little more than justice.

The tremendous question of disease presses more and more—public health is just beginning to take its proper place in the thoughts of the peoples and their governments —diseases long believed to be inevitable and incurable afflict an alarming percentage of the population and only the merest initial steps have been taken to combat or to cure them. Here as elsewhere an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure—and knowledge is the most potent of all weapons.

The enormous waste of the war has taught us we must conserve our resources and the greatest and most valuable of our resources is our men, our women, our children. What are we doing to conserve them?

The world is to be made better, brighter, happier—the hope of a blessed future after death will never die. It must be the task of the English-speaking race to bring that about.

France, gallant, heroic France, must for generations watch the Rhine; two assaults she has experienced, a third might be fatal. Italy, worthy child of old Rome, relieved indeed of the spectre of evil omen scowling over the Alps, is cribbed, cabined and confined by the necessity to overcome at home the effects of impoverishment for ages past. Germany if she would could not for generations do more than repair her shattered industrial and commercial life—and who would trust her in any case? The lesser folk

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have their own problems—who will come to the help of the Lord against the mighty?

May the United States increase in wealth and prosper in every way—the more she does the more will the rest of the English-speaking world rejoice.

> "Sail on, O Union, strong and great:
> Humanity, with all its fears,
> With all the hopes of future years
> Is hanging breathless on thy fate.
> Our hearts, our hopes, are all with thee;
> Our hearts, our hopes, our prayers, our tears,
> Our faith triumphant o'er our fears
> Are all with thee—are all with thee."

It is to that blessed union that I have often applied these words of the New England poet, words which he used of the United States, but of which I enlarge the application to the greater Union.

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COST-FINDING IN LABOR

By PERLEY MORSE

ONE of the most important problems of the day in this country—even greater than those of the League of Nations, Tariff, etc.—is the problem of devising ways and means where we can all live together in peace and harmony and with a degree of comfort. This can be accomplished only through due consideration of the rights and problems of all classes of our citizens—the General Public, Labor and Capital.

The General Public, Labor and Capital should give due consideration to the problem of one another. None of these groups can act independently without injuring the others as well as themselves. One group striking injures itself and the others. Hence the common necessity of arriving at some plan for an equal working basis.

At the present time the controversy between the mine workers and the mine operators has afforded us a very good illustration. The mine workers demanded more wages. The mine operators say that they cannot afford to pay more wages unless they raise the price of coal to the public who think they are paying enough now. The mine workers say that the mine operators can pay more wages out of their enormous profits and that there is no necessity for raising the price of coal to the public. After a great deal of contention on all sides, no one seems to know the truth or the merits of the controversy; nor has any one suggested how it could be ascertained.

There is no doubt, from an economic standpoint, that the worker is entitled to a decent living wage and that the capitalist or owner is entitled to a fair return on his capital and for his services. Further, there is no doubt but that

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the public should not be forced to pay exorbitant prices for commodities, simply to enable the workers to receive exorbitant wages or the capitalist to make exorbitant profits.

PREVENTING EXPENSIVE STRIKES

If competent Certified Public Accountants, experienced in cost finding, had been brought into the controversy between the mine workers and the mine operators (or, in fact, into any controversy over wages, profits on capital invested and price of commodities), they could have readily ascertained what capital was invested in coal mining; what it cost to produce coal; what profits the operators were making; and whether or not they could afford to pay more wages to the mine workers without raising the price of coal to the public; also whether the price now charged to the public for coal was too high.

The Federal Trade Commission has recognized this in principle, particularly as a war measure, when they regulated the price of newsprint, which caused the newsprint manufacturers throughout the United States and Canada, to endeavor to install uniform cost systems throughout the industry, so that they could definitely establish their cost of production, what was a fair price for newsprint and a fair return for capital. However, in this proceeding labor was not especially considered.

This principle has been adopted by the International Photo-Engravers' Union of North America, of which Matthew Woll is President; this Labor Union having employed Certified Public Accountants, experienced in cost finding, to devise a uniform cost system for the industry throughout the United States and Canada, the wages of the men, the return to the employers, or capital, and the price of photoengravings to the public all being considered as factors. This plan was adopted by the union and by the photoengravers who put it into operation. It is also likely to be adopted in principle by the American Federation of Labor of

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which the International Photo-Engravers' Union of North America is a part.

BASIC FACTORS IN EARNINGS

The first factor in the Gross Earnings of an industry is its Sales. The second factor is the Cost of Goods Sold. In this are Cost of Labor, Material and Factory Overhead, which includes amounts paid for superintendents, repairs, light, heat and power, rent, depreciation on machinery, tools, fixtures, etc., and all things necessary to keep a factory in perfect running order. When the Cost of Goods Sold is subtracted from the Sales, it gives the Gross Earnings.

From the Gross Earnings should be subtracted General and Administration Expenses, Interest on Capital (such as dividends on stock, interest on bonds, etc.), also General Depreciation, Obsolescence, etc. After all of these deductions are made from the Gross Earnings the difference is the Surplus for the period, which may be called undistributed profits or carried to the permanent Surplus Account. It is from this account that stock dividends are usually paid, the Supreme Court having recently ruled that stock dividends are not taxable under the Income Tax Laws.

Sometimes the sales of a business industry or business concern are called the "Turnover," some businesses having a more voluminous turnover than others. Those with a turnover small in proportion to its invested capital are entitled to make more gross earnings than a concern with a small capital and large turnover, or with a large capital and very large turnover.

In the sales of a business concern or industry are included, in making up the sales price, the cost of goods sold, that is, labor, material and overhead, together with a sufficient amount to take care of general and administration expenses, interest on capital, depreciation, etc., as explained above. There is more or less of a prevailing percentage in most industries as to what it can afford to pay for these

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things, before raising the price to the public, unless the industry is paying too low wages to its workmen, and for other costs, or profiteering on the public.

In all industries which have to do with living costs of the public generally, such as coal mining, meat packing, newsprint, woolen and cotton industries, and food products generally, a scientific cost-finding plan should be adopted so that justice may at all times be done to the different classes of our population, to wit: Labor, Capital and the General Public. Landlord and tenant disputes could also be adjusted on the basis of a fair return on capital invested by finding the cost of operating and maintaining dwellings and charging rent accordingly.

Cost finding in any manufacturing business should show the separate cost of each article manufactured or the cost in each department of the business.

FAILURES DUE TO IGNORANCE OF COSTS

Bankruptcy frequently occurs through ignorance of knowing the cost of articles manufactured. Some manufacturing concerns make several articles with no knowledge of the cost thereof; making a loss on some and big profits on others. A scientific cost-finding system would disclose the profitable and unprofitable articles which would enable the manufacturing concern to discontinue the unprofitable and concentrate their endeavors upon the profitable thereby enabling them to charge a less price to the consumer and pay more wages to their workmen. Further, it would help them to keep better track of the materials used.

Some may think that cost finding cannot be used in labor disputes without the Government coming in through proper legislation and fixing prices for commodities sold to the public and wages of workmen. This would be too big a task, as the fixing of prices would have to extend all up and down the line so as to include the pricing of all kinds of material, wages, salaries and everything else throughout all industries. It has been forcibly demon-

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strated during the War, as well as before, that the least possible amount of Government interference in business is best, provided business interests deal fairly with the public and their workmen. Government officials and employees are usually not experienced in business.

Cost finding in labor disputes could only be made possible and beneficial by an agreement between capital represented by the various trade committees and councils and the labor unions to submit their disagreements and troubles to competent Certified Public Accountants, experienced in cost finding, who would take up the subject impartially using as a basis for their decision, first: the price of the commodity sold to the public, second: the cost to manufacture the commodity, in which is included the material, wages and overhead. Third: leaving sufficient margin in the price of the commodity to the public to take care of a fair return to capital.

A WINTER DAWN

By CLINTON SCOLLARD

A BITTER dawn broke bleak above the snow;
The prescient east betrayed a pallid fire;
There was a sobbing in the sagging wire
That overhead depended like a bow.
Along the street, in wavering to and fro,
Before the wind in eddy and in gyre,
With airy tread that never seemed to tire
Capered the snow-elves in elusive row.

The smoke curled skyward; with a tattoo weird
Sounded a horse's hoofs, the while, forlorn,
The first footfarer sprang to sudden view,
Breathing a white cloud through his frosty beard;
While sleepily across the cringing morn
A hoarse steam-siren its reveille blew.

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THE CAPTIVE OF IGOR

By DANIEL HENDERSON

IT drifts from lip to lip in the huts of Russia—
A folk-lore straw on the winds of the years—
That once Igor sailed forth,
With his well-beloved men,
To plunder the shores of Persia.

The loot he won:—
The damasked shawls,
The costly jade,
The burning jewels,
He gave to his crew.
Nothing he kept for himself
But her he called
The Rose of Persia.
Nothing he gloated on
But the frightened eyes
Of the captive princess.

But Igor's men looked, too,
At the Persian maid,
And booty to them seemed naught
Beside the prize of their chieftain.

Then Igor, reading the thirst in their eyes,
Seized and lifted his loot—
The little maid who beat like a bird on his heart—
While his blood ran as cold
As streams from his hills!
Out from the prow of the ship he flung her!
Out to the hungry, sucking water!
Over the snarl of his pack he thundered:—
"Heed, Mother Volga!
Thus I yield you
The princess who severs the friendship of men!"

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BANKS DUTY TO BUSINESS

By JAMES S. ALEXANDER

[*President National Bank of Commerce, New York*]

BEFORE the establishment of the Federal reserve system there was no great organized unit in the nation's banking structure. It was merely a great collection of banks, impelled by about the same motives, but not coordinated in action. The structure was so fundamentally weak in this respect that the banks were not able to maintain a broad-minded attitude toward business in the interest of the public welfare when the expansion of prosperity had brought a crisis, or possibly a panic. A function of the banks is to make profits, and in times of prosperity it was but natural that they should compete for all the business they could get and that many of them in the heat of this competition should become individually extended. As this tendency progressed there would come the realization that banking and business conditions in the country were reaching a state of expansion that demanded readjustment. Unorganized as they were, the banks had to act as independent units. They had only two ways to fortify their own position—that is, by individually conserving their gold reserves and by contracting their loans. Curtailment of accommodation to business was imperative. If conditions were progressing rapidly toward a serious state, abrupt curtailment was necessary.

Before the organization of the Federal reserve system, each bank carried its own gold reserve and had no sure means of shifting the burden of its loans when they became too heavy for it to carry alone. Its only relief was in re-

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ducing them. Clearing House associations constituted loose local federations that helped in a measure in emergencies, but they did not answer fundamental needs.

Under such conditions, therefore, it was often a case of self-preservation, regardless of others or of the integrity of the general business situation.

GOLD HOARDING UNNECESSARY NOW

Under the Federal reserve system, however, this fundamental weakness in our banking structure has been corrected. The gold reserves of the country have, in effect, been pooled for the benefit of all so that the total monetary gold stock of the nation virtually underlies the total credit structure, supporting it at all points. Moreover, there are quick acting means provided for the shifting of reserves, if emergency demands it, to points where most needed.

Under former conditions some banks saw their reserve sink far below legal requirements and could not force the better supplied banks to share with them, being dependent upon voluntary friendly assistance. Such inequality was a menace to the whole business structure, leaving as it did many weak spots with no sure means provided for those needing aid to lean upon the strong.

Under present conditions, however, there is no occasion for banks to hoard gold, because their reserves are no longer held in their own vaults. They are merged in a general fund in the hands of the Federal reserve banks and have become, in effect, a great bed-rock upon which the total banking structure is firmly based. Thus is the reserve situation strengthened, and through the rediscount facilities of the Federal reserve banks prime commercial paper in the portfolios of member banks is made available for the further relief of business.

Additional strength is given to the business structure by the elasticity imparted to our currency through the issue of Federal reserve notes based on rediscounted commercial paper. This keeps the currency truly responsive to eco-

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nomic needs, increasing in volume as business activity and commercial loans expand, and shrinking as the volume of credit is liquidated. In active times ample currency for business needs is provided, and in slackened times it is not in oversupply.

Rediscounting operations among the twelve Federal reserve banks, serve to equalize the credit strain throughout the country, keeping the nation's credit resources fluid as a whole so that they can flow wherever needed. Through the pooling of resources the strength of all is automatically the strength of each.

The question remains, with the machinery thus provided for co-operating with business to the fullest extent, do the banks fail to co-operate when they are most needed?

BANK CO-OPERATION WITH BUSINESS DEFINED

Bank co-operation with business may be classed as of two kinds; first, direct co-operation through extending credits, and secondly, indirect co-operation through maintaining the integrity of the general business situation

In the matter of extending credits, sound banking requires an analysis and judgment of each specific credit risk, involving careful consideration of the financial set up and the ability of the management of the particular company seeking the loan It also requires analysis and judgment as to conditions in the concern's particular field of activity for the purpose of determining whether those conditions indicate that it will be able to carry out its business projects. Only when it is satisfied on these points is a bank called upon to give direct co-operation by granting the loan.

Indirect co-operation with business on the part of banks takes a broader view than is required in this detailed consideration of individual transactions. It is the duty of the banks, and a part of their co-operation with business, to keep themselves thoroughly informed at all times as to the general business and economic situation and as to the re-

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lationship of the general credit structure to the nation's reserves.

Also it is the duty of each bank to keep its own condition continually in mind because its own credit structure is a part of the credit structure of the nation, lending strength or weakness, as the case may be, to the total situation. It is the prime duty of a bank to remain sound and liquid so that there shall never be any hesitation in meeting its demand obligations.

A commercial bank depends for its own solvency upon the solvency of its borrowing customers and the solvency of its borrowing customers depends not only upon their financial structure and their management, but also upon general business and economic conditions. Therefore, when the banks realize that the business situation is becoming unduly expanded and that the necessity is approaching for a contraction in the business structure, it is their duty, both to themselves, to their customers and to general business welfare, not only to apply with the utmost care all of their means of analyzing and judging applications for accommodation but also to counsel conservatism in business operations.

MUST ANTICIPATE PROSPECTIVE TROUBLE

The banks owe it to business not to allow themselves to become embarrassed. Nothing is more potent in bringing on a state of depression, nothing is more destructive to public morale, than the closing of the doors of banks. Therefore, they should be quick to anticipate prospective trouble. They should exercise premature rather than tardy caution. Even under the Federal reserve system there is a point in credit expansion beyond which it is not safe to go, especially when the liquidity of credit has become impaired. A bank which over-extends itself has less real regard for the interest of business, and is really co-operating less with business, than one which frankly counsels and practices conservatism when conditions require such action.

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It is far better that many business concerns should contract their operations for a time if need be, than that a bank should become embarrassed through over-extending itself to grant them unwise accommodation. I say this not only from the viewpoint of a banker but rather from the viewpoint of any business man who has the foresight to consider his business interest in the long run and not only in its immediate aspect.

When general business conditions become critical it is not the duty of the banks to attempt to force a continuance of activity by artificial stimulation. It is not their duty to provide funds for expansion when business prudence counsels conservatism. It is rather their duty, and their best form of co-operation with business, to do their utmost under such conditions to persuade their customers to curtail borrowings in the interest of the general situation.

But I do not mean to say that the banks do their full duty by preaching conservatism and practicing curtailment. Where their own position warrants it they should lend freely to enable solvent concerns to meet their quick liabilities. It is their business and their function to assist solvent firms to mobilize slow assets, but it is not their duty to validate bad assets of insolvent firms. They may sometimes find it advisable further to assist a firm which is largely but not wholly good for its liabilities in order to prevent it from throwing its assets on a demoralized market. If a concern is temporarily embarrassed, it is the duty of the banks to grant it their assistance rather than to allow it to go to the wall.

BUSINESS SHOULD NOT ASK TOO MUCH

I do not believe we can have any difference of opinion on the proposition that the banks have a civic duty to perform on both sides of the question—that is, to counsel and exert themselves against over-expansion on the one hand, and on the other, when critical times come, to assist deserving firms in an effort to keep the total business struc-

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ture from collapsing. But it is equally true that business also has a duty, and that is, not to demand too much of the banks. It is never the duty of a bank to wreck or jeopardize itself in an attempt to bolster up a business position which should not have been created and should not be maintained.

Banking and business must work together to readjust strained conditions and to prevent a crisis from running into a panic. If they do work together this country need never see another panic.

Although a great deal of readjustment lies ahead, we should not again see such conditions in this country as developed in the panics of 1893 and 1907. The banks and business men now have in their hands adequate means for avoiding a panic. Having the means, our responsibility is just so much the greater to conduct our affairs along sound lines so that the business structure of the country shall not get into such straits as to bring on a critical condition. Whereas the great panics of the past were due to circumstances beyond our control, a panic under conditions that exist today would be chargeable to inefficiency and a dereliction of duty on the part of the banks and of business men first in not looking ahead and secondly, in not insisting that business be conducted according to the clear dictates of prudence.

During the period through which we have recently passed, despite the unprecedented problems and conditions to be contended with, the loyal co-operation of the banks with business maintained the soundness of the business structure in a way never before witnessed in this country. If any one feels that the banks as a whole have not co-operated with business as they should, it is because he does not fully appreciate the fundamentals involved.

A consideration of the facts in the case will make this clear. The great financial feature of the present business era was the tremendous inflow of gold into this country accompanied by a rapid expansion of our credit structure.

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In fact, great as was the increase in our gold base, the expansion of our credit structure far outran it, so that we witnessed a continual dwindling of the reserve ratio. This credit expansion was caused by Government war paper, by great commercial activity and by European credits.

While our credit structure was in this highly expanded and largely non-liquid condition, abnormal shortages of goods and extravagant public buying produced higher prices, higher wages, speculation and inflation. Finally, the difficulties of the situation were augmented by the transportation breakdown which rendered our credit even less liquid by delaying the turnover of goods and the paying off of loans.

In this complex situation the volume of gold in this country began to shrink as we continued to sell to Europe on credit but paid cash to other parts of the world where the balance of trade was against us. The result of all these factors was a very heavy pressure on our credit resources making it advisable for the banks to conserve their positions with the utmost care. Weakened banks would have meant disaster.

DUTY OF THE BANKS CLEAR

The peak of credit expansion must soon pass, but this does not mean that there are not ahead of us many serious and necessary adjustments. There must be established stable price levels so that business can be conducted on a basis of confident judgment rather than of guess and speculation. There must also be adequate production, primarily in the more substantial lines of goods, so that we shall not continue to live on a narrow hand-to-mouth margin, which is responsible for unstable prices. We must conserve credit so that there will be ample funds for long time investment to provide for the rehabilitation of essential permanent equipment, railroad building and repair, and necessary housing construction.

With these necessary readjustments before us, I believe

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the duty of the banks of the country is clear. It is their duty to interpret the needs of business in view of these foregoing considerations. Since the banks touch all phases of industry and business, they are able to obtain a broader view of the total business situation than is the individual business man, whose enthusiasm or anxiety over his own line may obscure his vision to the greater need and even to his own best interests. The condition of the country is the balance sheet of the banks, not merely their own books.

The banks have seen clearly the necessity of conserving our credit resources lest the financial structure of the country should become over-expanded and weakened. They have seen, too, the need of production, price stability and adequate transportation. They have realized that our business energies must not be diverted from these requirements. Seeing these things clearly it has been their responsibility to act in accordance with them.

Therefore, I believe that it is due to a misconception or to failure to give due weight to fundamental facts, if business feels that there has been any tendency on the part of the banks to fail to co-operate with it to the fullest extent in the present business era. Seen in its true light, the attitude of the banks has been the only true co-operation possible. Any other attitude on their part would have been non-co-operation, making more difficult the period of readjustment and recovery to normal, stabilized business, which is what we all want.

I do not believe that the attitude of banks should be paternalistic toward business nor that it has been, but that they have acted in co-operation with business and in the best interests of all concerned. A bank which does otherwise than that does less than its individual and its public duty. The problems of business are the problems of the banks. The two are not in any sense on different sides of the question. They are both on the same side working together for mutual advantage. If conditions make it good for business to borrow, it is good for the banks to

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lend, and if conditions make it bad for the banks to lend, it is bad for business to borrow.

PROBLEM OF FOREIGN TRADE

The problem of the American manufacturer in export trade is one of the great problems before the bankers of the country today. But it is a problem that is not to be considered as apart from our general business problem. What differences there may be between foreign and domestic trade are differences of detail and not of general principle.

The considerations that I have outlined as applying to the attitude of banking in co-operating with business apply with especial force in connection with our foreign trade. International business is in a particularly active period of transition and adjustment. During the war period the ratio of our foreign trade to our total domestic trade has undergone violent changes, foreign business occupying for a time an abnormal importance. There was also produced an abnormal balance of foreign indebtedness in our favor.

Just what ratio between our foreign trade and our domestic trade may come to be established as normal it is impossible to say at present. But it can be said that a closer approximation to equilibrium between our export and import trade must be expected, whether that be brought about through a decrease of our exports, an increase in our imports, or both.

If a marked recession in our export trade should prove to be one of the corrective factors tending to stabilize international trade, it is my belief that such a recession should be accepted as economically sound and that we should not incur the dangers of seeking to stimulate by artificial measures the volume of our foreign trade. Where there is a real demand for our goods there will be a real market. It is the business of the banks to finance goods for real markets. It is not their business to attempt to maintain

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expanded foreign trade when it becomes manifest that there is not the continued economic basis for that expansion.

EUROPE NEEDS OUR RAW PRODUCTS

A comprehensive view of the foreign situation indicates that the real and basic need of Europe is for our raw products. She needs them to re-establish her own industries upon a fundamentally productive basis, increasing her export powers so as to liquidate her adverse balance of indebtedness. Her need is for raw products rather than for many classes of our manufactured products which during the war period she had to purchase from us but which, as her own industrial organization is rehabilitated, she can increasingly produce for herself without reliance upon us.

It is the duty of the bankers to advise with business as to the conditions abroad and as to the prospects of the countries with which we are doing business being able to liquidate ultimately the balances of indebtedness which they owe to the United States. The desire for immediate profits should not obscure our vision of the future.

Also in financing our foreign trade we must not lose sight of our business situation as a whole. We must not finance our foreign trade on a basis that will perpetuate over-expansion in our domestic banking credit. The great bulk of Europe's debts to us is in the form of long time credits or of commercial credits which it seems impossible to realize on at once. This is a serious element of non-liquidity in our credit structure. If it is necessary to re-adjust our domestic credit situation, our foreign trade also must be subject to that necessity. The liquidity of our commercial credit structure should be a chief concern. Therefore, it is one of the pre-eminent duties of the banks to encourage a return as fast as possible to reciprocal foreign trade in equilibrium financed by liquid credits.

The most desirable foreign trade is that with countries which give most promise of being able to re-establish their own productivity and to regain at the earliest moment the

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ability to liquidate their debts here with goods. It is also but the part of wisdom to favor, in our trade with those countries, such products of ours as will serve most rapidly to help them return to a condition of economic stability.

These are all practical considerations for business men as well as bankers. Banks make money by helping others make money. The way for business to make money is to make sure that the profits of today shall not be wiped out by the losses of tomorrow. The only way in which this can be assured is to see to it that the business structure which is built today is not built so weakly that it will collapse under the demands of tomorrow.

Therefore, when bankers see that business conditions have reached a stage of expansion that requires readjustment, they should fearlessly take what steps are necessary in the situation. Their action must be based on self-interest, on the demands of business and above all on the best interests of all concerned. This is my conception of true banking co-operation with business.

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OUR ECONOMIC INTEREST IN IRELAND

By Hon. Daniel F. Cohalan

As a people we are probably not conscious of the extent to which we have been immersed in our own affairs and of how completely we have been cut off from foreign questions, or even from the contemplation and study of problems having to do with other nations and peoples.

Protected as we have been, by consistent adherence to Washington's advice against entangling alliances and by the creation and enforcement of the Monroe doctrine from any dangerous contact with Old World conflicts, we have given our time and attention to domestic questions to the exclusion of all others.

The great war into which we were finally drawn and whose fate we decided, has opened our eyes to the fact that we must study and understand a number of world problems in order to preserve our liberty and to save ourselves from the machinations of the rulers of mighty nations whose treasuries have been depleted by the events of recent years.

We are beginning to see that there is an economic side to each of these questions.

Probably there is no international problem at present disturbing the world, the correct solution of which has greater interest to America than the problem of Ireland. With a fifth of our vast population of Irish blood and with the sympathy of all Americans for a people who have been struggling against great odds for liberty, for a period five times as long as the existence of our own country, it does not need such a situation of affairs as even English leaders now admit to exist in Ireland to make American interest in that country vital and intense; and of a nature that may at any time call

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forth action similar to that taken by us in Cuba in the interests of humanity. It is becoming more and more evident that what has been euphemistically called a "campaign of reprisals" is only another name for wholesale and indiscriminate murder; for savage and brutal blood lust: for wanton and unrestrained license, pillage, arson and destruction. The English government in Ireland has confessedly broken down and has been replaced by guerilla warfare, carried on for England by uniformed thugs and undisciplined but organized banditti.

IRELAND A NATION

Such a condition is the negation of government, the antithesis of order and the denial of that justice between man and man for which organized society exists. That Ireland is a nation, distinct and separate from all others and that she is morally entitled to choose and select her own government, is no longer seriously denied. England's old methods of misrepresentation have broken down. Faced by a people who every day are giving evidence of a readiness to die for liberty and by a political unanimity without parallel in history the real reasons for England's deathhold upon Ireland are becoming clear to all mankind.

England at the beginning of the war raised within her own borders an amount of food sufficient to feed her teeming millions for six weeks in the year. Frightened by the dangers that confronted her during the time when the Germans were trying to isolate her from the countries from which she drew her food; and alarmed by the consequences to her industrial population of the food shortage, her rulers attempted to change this condition; but the Englishman had become in so many cases a dweller in cities or towns that, even with governmental subsidies and doles to agriculture, England for three-quarters of the year must continue to be fed by other lands. Ireland, purposely denuded of inhabitants to an extraordinary extent by English rule, has been turned into a great grazing range for England and provides annual-

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ly a million head of cattle for the English market as well as great quantities of other foodstuffs.

In the same way she provides a dumping ground for the surplus products of the English manufacturer and thus enables him to successfully undersell his American or Continental rival who has no market of which he has an absolute monopoly.

Above all Ireland stands between England and the oceans and must be held, as the English naval authorities say, for England's safety—and the English spokesmen who have a horror of the doctrine that might makes right when applied to Belgium, welcome it as a Heaven sent message when it helps to make England secure from real or fancied attack.

IRELAND'S PROBLEM AN ECONOMIC ONE

The problem, therefore, of Ireland is basically in England's eyes an economic one and all her great wars have proved how far England is prepared to go for economic and industrial advantage. The world, and particularly our country, is interested in the intensely human side of the question of Irish independence but we have not yet come fully to realize how completely political independence rests upon economic independence. England might recognize the political independence of Ireland if she could retain the economic control, but with the latter are bound up interests that England regards as vital to her continued world power. What interest has America directly in the solution of this absorbing problem? Aside altogether from the sentimental side of the question its solution is a matter of first importance to our country from the economic point of view. Locked up with the fate of Ireland is the control of the seas, and upon the freedom of the seas rests economic liberty or economic thraldom for the world.

England for more than a generation has insisted that she must have a fleet equal at least in strength to the two fleets which follow hers in the order of size and efficiency. In spite of the declarations recently made by some of her

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apologists that she no longer holds to this rule, she is to-day the strongest naval power in the world, and intends, if we are to judge of her future by her past, to so remain, by fair means or by foul. This naval superiority she has in her own fleet. She adds to that in case of emergency the strength of Japan, her sister Island Empire, bound to her by the close ties of treaty; of mutuality of interest; and of identity of aims. Possessing this power she seeks to turn it to the financial and industrial advantage of her subjects, and this can be done by obtaining through it, for her mercantile marine, the carrying trade of the world with the enormous revenue to be derived from its operation. This revenue would come not alone from the freight and traffic charges made for transportation but from the large sums to be made from again becoming the banker and the insurer of the commerce of the world. Her ruling class recognizes the necessity for such an effort on their part in order to save the tottering business houses of England. They must have a large revenue to run the machinery of government and such a revenue can be raised only from a solvent people. It will be of little avail for them merely to prepare a budget and to impose a tax. The people upon whom it is imposed must have the means of meeting the burden and of responding to the levy. England will seek her ends in the future as she has done in the past. Against whom will this great power be used?

One by one for three hundred years she has broken down her serious commercial rivals. One by one, in the name of justice or humanity, the country which was unfortunate enough to become her financial and economic competitor has been compelled to give way by a combination of powers, ingeniously made by her. To-day the only great remaining solvent competitor of England in the markets of the world is our country. By reason of our extraordinary growth and development we now manufacture in eight months all that we can consume in a year and for four months of each year we are dependent for the continuance of business upon the markets of the world. In the same way England manu-

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factures in less than four months all that she can consume in a year, and for more than two-thirds of the year is commercially dependent upon the markets of the world. To reach those markets both of the countries are obliged to use the seas, and unless those seas be free, commercial interchange between distant lands is impossible and the country shut out from the use of the seas is thrown back upon itself for consumption of all that it produces.

ENGLAND'S SEA POWER

England to-day controls absolutely the seven seas, and while we hear much of her disposition not to interfere with their use by all the peoples of the earth, the fact remains that whenever the whim, or prejudice, or interest of her governing class requires it, she may shut out from the seas any or all of the other nations of the world, including our own country. Such a condition is intolerable. Tyranny is based not alone upon the wish to exercise power but also upon its possession—and however tyrannical may be the disposition of the governing class of a nation it is of no moment until translated into actions. England's spokesmen and her friends here in America insist that such power never will be exercised against us, but the fact remains that she possesses such power and that her commercial and financial necessities are now so great that in order to keep afloat as a going-concern it will be absolutely necessary for her to control the markets of the world. To-day the public debt of the British Empire is more than nine billions of pounds, the yearly interest charge is more than two and a quarter billions of dollars. Such a sum it is impossible for England to raise from her already heavily burdened people. Her merchants and manufacturers are in many cases on the verge of bankruptcy. It is necessary in order to recoup the losses made by them during the past few years that they should monopolize the business of the world. A government which must look to a solvent England for the collection of the revenues necessary to its continued existence must do its best in order to

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regain solvency for their country and retain solvency for its manufacturers and merchants.

UNFRIENDLINESS OF ENGLISH SHIPOWNERS

By the exigencies of the war the American flag was restored to the seas and placed again upon a large mercantile marine. That marine in order to continue to exist must seek out markets for American commerce throughout the world and must in doing this compete with the English mercantile marine from which for generations the English have derived an immense proportion of their revenues. Competition, first conducted in friendly spirit, will as the necessities of each side increase, grow more keen and more bitter. English shipowners do not and will not regard with composure strong competition from a country which for fifty years has had practically no mercantile marine. They regard, and naturally so, the American mercantile marine as one which is entering upon a field which belongs to them, and they regard this competition as unfriendly and hostile and as an invasion of their rights and the cutting down of the revenues which they believe to belong to themselves. It is of vital importance to the English that they should receive annually a revenue of several billions of dollars from their control of ocean-born commerce. The failure to receive this revenue will result in bankruptcy and England's rulers at any price and at any cost will be urged on by her necessities to take any step which in their judgment will stave off such insolvency. The final step, in the cases of Spain, of France, of Holland and of Germany when all indirect steps had failed, was that of war in order to drive by force those flags from the seas. Can there be serious doubt of similar action in our case when English interests require it?

Ireland is the gateway to Europe and English statesmen have for years insisted that its control was an essential condition of English world power. Ireland stands between England and the oceans. English commerce coming and going between England and other lands must pass closely by the shores of Ireland. England insists upon possession of

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the magnificent harbors of Ireland, even though she keeps them idle, in order to prevent Irish competition with English commerce and to insure her continued ownership of all the water avenues of commerce and the certainty of uninterrupted and unrestrained access for her ships to and from the oceans. So long as England controls Ireland and with that control retains her control of the seas so long will the ultimate attempt to destroy American commerce be an ever-growing certainty. If England does not intend to use this weapon let her destroy it by agreeing to the recognition of an independent government which will absolutely control Ireland and which will be friendly to all countries and subservient to none. If England intends to use this weapon then by all manner of means will she continue to hold Ireland in subjection and continue to control her wonderful harbors and through them and her geographical position control all the sea-borne commerce carried to and fro to all parts of the world.

IRELAND'S FOREIGN COMMERCE

The foreign business done by Ireland last year, according to Sir Horace Plunkett, amounted to $820,000,000. Of this England did ninety-five per cent., doing more business with Ireland than with any other country in the world except our country. This was so, not through choice upon the part of Ireland, but through compulsion and Ireland was compelled against all economic laws to buy in the dearest and sell in the cheapest market. When one considers that the population of Ireland through the British rule has been cut in two in seventy years, a condition for which there is probably no parallel in human history, and that leading economists assert that she is capable of sustaining in comfort a population of twenty millions, the extent of the commerce of a free Ireland with all the world becomes at once a question of first importance. England by her maritime laws of two centuries ago and by her absolute control of political conditions has isolated Ireland from the rest of the world so far as commerce is concerned. A free Ireland

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would deal with all the nations of the world, and particularly with America, so that a business of hundreds of millions of dollars a year would be gained for America by the emergence of Ireland as an independent country.

The English made last year directly and indirectly from the control of Ireland above $225,000,000, and, large as this sum is, it is only of minor importance as compared with the value of Ireland to England in her plans for the absolute control of the seas. England to-day rules over a third of the world and more than a third of its population. Such a condition is a menace to the liberty of mankind and is intolerable in view of the generally accepted principle that the right of self determination as the outcome of the war is to be the heritage of all mankind. To paraphrase a saying of Abraham Lincoln, one of our greatest Americans, "the world cannot endure half slave and half free," and it is to the interest of mankind that the British Empire, like the other Empires of the past, should now be resolved into its component parts and that each of the peoples who have suffered under its iron tyranny should be permitted to take its place among the independent peoples of the world.

What happier solution could there be, not alone for Ireland and for humanity in general, but for the people of England? Ground down as they now are by a system of taxation that required more than $700,000,000 in 1919 for naval expenditure; $300,000,000 for aerial fighting preparations and nearly a billion for the army—the disarmament which would accompany and follow the freedom of the seas would save the people of England from the nearly expenditure of such enormous sums and from ultimate bankruptcy and destruction.

England is armed to the teeth to-day to maintain her ownership of the seas.

That control can be taken from her only by our country. We must have freedom of the seas in order to survive. Can any one doubt that we will have it no matter from what power it is to be wrung?

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Let us have it by all means, by peaceful efforts, by ways that will avoid the taking of life and the destruction of property! Let it come in the way of increased liberty for mankind including the people of England. Let it come in the way that will convince mankind of England's right to be considered among the nations that want freedom for all peoples. Let England make her choice—and let us hope that it may be the righteous one, but let her be convinced, if she insists upon tyranny and force, then she must go the way of all other Empires and be swept aside in order that liberty—political and economic—may be preserved in our land and extended to all the rest of the world.

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IMMIGRATION HYSTERIA IN CONGRESS

By JOHN E. MILHOLLAND

FOR the first time in the history of this immigrant nation, it has been decided by the Federal House of Representatives that, with three hundred years' wonderful experience behind us, we must go out of the Immigration business entirely.

A momentous step has been taken. And it was taken in haste. Much in fact suggestive of a stampede marred the proceedings. In portions of the debate conditions of mind bordering upon a panic were reflected. To be sure, a certain amount of spontaneity was evidenced, but behind it all the familiar work of propaganda and prearrangement was distinctly visible, as it has been for years. Calm consideration was almost overwhelmed by vociferous demand and excited speech until methods prevailed that shocked the veteran members of a government that is supposed to represent deliberate action, an appeal to reason and a reasoning from sufficient data.

Pressed for the cause of so much precipitancy on the part of the Bill's proponents, a leading member of the House declared that he "understood no less than 15,000,000 immigrants" at European ports to be preparing to overwhelm us with their numbers. No positive trustworthy information was furnished to justify such an amazing declaration, and it was quickly demonstrated that with the existing system of ocean passenger transportation, 15,000,000 people could not be brought here in ten years, though every ship were loaded to the gunwales and sailed at top speed.

It was shown, moreover, that according to the actual

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report of the Immigration Department for the year ending June 30, 1920, exactly one more than 430,000 immigrants arrived and 288,315 went home, leaving an actual increase of 142,686, or less than one-tenth of one per cent in our population. This included people from all countries and all races—African, Chinese, Hebrew, Irish, Japanese, Polish, Russian, Scotch, Slavoc, Spanish, Turkish, and a lot of Mexicans.

Since the close of the last fiscal year, that is since June, 30, 1920, there has been this increase in the arrivals: July, 83,959; August, 86,500; September, 98,400; October, 101,-000; November, 102,000; or a total of 472,859 for the five months, but over against this there were no less than 181,-505 in the way of returns, leaving a net increase of our population of 291,354 or less than three-tenths of 1 per cent; or an indicated total immigration for the current fiscal year 1920-21 of about 700,000, or nearly half a million under the high-water mark of the years preceding the War; practically two-thirds of one per cent of our total population, and far, far below the figures representing our natural increase—usually estimated at one million, at least, annually.

A TEAPOT TEMPEST

Viewed in the light of actual statistics—and all these figures are taken from the official reports of the Government—the tide of immigration is certainly running very much below that of former pre-war years. Considered in the light of what was predicted would happen immediately after the close of the World War, they are ridiculously small. In justification of such a drastic piece of legislation, as proposed in the Bill reported by the majority House Immigration Committee, after years of agitation and propaganda, it is enough to make the intelligent citizen rub his eyes in astonishment and wonder what all the fuss is about. It is a teapot tempest, and, for the moment, the splendid calm figure of Columbia seems transformed into the tradi-

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tional old lady, scrambling over chairs and tables to avoid the real or imaginary mouse.

Why is it among all the great questions that press upon us for solution, that of immigration is the one over which the American people become so easily excited? Immigrants ourselves we should understand it fully, or at least consider it sympathetically, but we don't, and in consequence even sensible legislators go into hysterics at certain frequently recurring intervals.

The solution of the immigration problem is summed up in one word—Distribution. Had we given as much time to this simple solution of the question as we have to discussing the evils or dangers that are supposed to lie in its wake, we would be free from all apprehension on the subject. All our troubles over the foreigner here are due to the disregard of this experience-born injunction. It accounts for all the racial troubles that California and the other Pacific Coast States have had over the Japanese and Chinese. If that contingent of Chinese, mostly of the coolie type, that came from Canton, Peking and the other big Chinese cities about half a century ago, had been judiciously scattered throughout the country instead of being permitted to settle down in San Francisco, they never would have become such a disturbing factor in the situation.

This is true of the Hungarians who were brought to the Pennsylvania coal fields and allowed to build up colonies there; of the Italians, the Russians, the Galicians and the Polish Jews who swarm the streets of New York and give it and the other cities of our country the appearance of foreign capitals.

The organizations that have undertaken this work of distribution at least are to be commended, and where needed, should have government support to do the work in a systematic, intelligent, practical manner. Herein is real genuine service for Congress to perform, and that immediately.

Taking the worst view of it, there is nothing more alarming at present than the wild rumors voiced by Mr.

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Campbell, of Kansas, in the course of the debate of that phantom army of "15,000,000 immigrants" that are resting upon their arms somewhere in Europe to invade us.

Supposing it to be true, instead of being as it is nonsensical—inspired by talk on the part of those at home and abroad who are trying to frighten the American people into cutting off one of our greatest National assets—what is there to be alarmed about? We enter the danger zone, according to Macaulay's famous prediction, only when we have a population of 20,000 to the square mile. At present we have an average of between 30 to 40 people living upon each of the eight million square miles of North America. When that playful prophecy of the brilliant Englishman is fulfilled, we shall have 160,000,000,000, or ten times the population of the whole world, and that will be long centuries hence, for we grow in numbers more slowly than popular supposition has it.

It has taken this old gray earth two thousand years, according to Mulhall, to increase from 54,000,000, in the days of Julius Caesar, to 1,600,000,000, one reason being that during the Middle Ages the gain in population was so slight that there were less than 50,000,000 in Europe as late as the Twelfth Century.

OUR VAST UNOCCUPIED TERRITORIES

But if it be necessary to quiet still further the Nation's nerves after this Congressional outburst, let us remind ourselves that we have yet considerable territory desperately in need of occupation. According to the Census returns New York State itself today has no less than 25,000 deserted farms, with little prospect of their being taken up unless foreigners do it. The average American boy does not take to manual labor, either in the North or in the East, West or South. It is not exactly that the rising native generation has grown "soft," but because they feel we have reached the point where they can have this service done by others. In the South there is the colored man, in the North and West

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the Immigrant; and if the abandoned farms of the East, especially New England, are being taken up a little more rapidly than formerly, or in other States, it is because of the influx of sturdy French Canadians who have come down over the border. They work.

The United States "overwhelmed by 15,000,000 Immigrants"? What nonsense! Consider a few random facts. Texas has about the same acreage as Germany before the War. Its population today is less than 5,000,000 or about one-thirteenth of the old Teutonic Empire's, but it could take all the people in Germany and the forty millions of France, and then not be so thickly populated to the square mile as the Italy of today.

One hundred and thirty millions of immigrants could settle in the South on the other side of the Mississippi and that whole Southern section would not be one-half so thickly populated as Massachusetts with less than 4,000,000 and with no end of deserted farms—all well worth tilling. All the people of Portugal could settle down in Missouri, and Missouri then would be no more crowded than Portugal is at present. The entire South can take care of more than 250,000,000 immigrants without feeling the strain of excessive population. At least 500,000 people might be sent below Mason and Dixon's line every year from Ellis Island, and it would take a hundred years at that rate to fill up Dixie, or crowd out the 11,000,000 or 12,000,000 colored people, or close up, for lack of space, a single race-track or baseball field.

A few years ago when one William Hohenzollern attempted to frighten us and the rest of the world with his talk about the "Yellow Peril," or the alleged certainty of Occidental inundation by Oriental populations, he harped on these arguments in favor of his imperialistic notions and fool war until a mathematical chap in Philadelphia sat down one day and figured out that if India's entire 300,000,000 people (that is the last official British record) would land some night on the Pacific Coast, and start for Chicago,

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all of them could be absorbed without a single one going farther East than the Rocky Mountains. Washington, Oregon, California, Idaho, Utah, Montana, and Wyoming could accommodate them all with as much land as they had at home, and each State still be in a position to yell "Come West, young man! Come West!"

We are supposed to lead the American continent, if not the whole world, in ability to handle the perplexing problems of civilization, but Argentina and some of the other South American Republics are setting us an example in the way they are handling immigration that is worthy of our consideration. Instead of putting up the bars, they greet the immigrant cordially, attend to his examination just as carefully and far more scientifically than we do, but once admitted they never rest until he is placed where he can be worked to the best advantage for himself and for the country, and in every way given the best possible chance "to live up to his blue china."

An argument in favor of this method of treatment of these unfortunate creatures against our barbarous ways was recently set forth in very temperate language by a writer in THE FORUM. It is bound to be in vogue within the near future because this whole question is passing with great rapidity from the realm of academic discussion to the actual requirements of our country.

THE UNCEASING CRY FOR LABOR

From East to West, the cry of every farmer, every contractor and employer is for labor—labor to sow and to reap and to gather into barns; labor for the public works, the shops, and for a thousand other forms of our activity. This labor must be found somewhere. The North has had to draw from the South. The limit has been reached, but while a temporary slowdown in manufacture may continue, there is no slowdown in the requirements of the agricultural regions of the United States. People must be fed. Crops must be raised. The land must be tilled. Consumption is

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overtaking production everywhere, and unless this wholesale rejection of foreigners be checked a situation will confront us not pleasant to contemplate. Andrew Carnegie once said that every immigrant was worth $5,000 to the country. Checking immigration is a menace to prosperity.

To read the wild talk about the effect of this War upon immigration from the Old World, one would suppose that we had no history of what has followed preceding conflicts. The Napoleonic wars of a hundred years ago were just as tremendous at that time as the late upheaval, consequent upon the World War. Yet nothing that followed Waterloo had any impressive effect upon our immigration, and the subsequent abortive Revolution of 1848, which stirred Europe from one end to another, was not made conspicuous by the immensity but by the high character of the Old World exodus, particularly from Germany where immigration, stimulated by a desire to avoid enforced military service, was led by such men as Carl Schurz, General Siegel, and that wonderful man, whom the medical profession of America still delights to honor, Dr. Jacobi.

Few came to us from France following the Peace of Versailles that closed the Franco-German War, because the patriotic French threw themselves into the task of rehabilitating the country just as the Belgians and the Russians and others are doing now. The Russian-Japanese War was quite without effect as a stimulus to any tidal wave of emigrants from either country.

A few months ago there arrived in New York a vessel laden with choice fruits from one of the new Zionist colonies of Palestine. From a strictly commercial point of view, it was a mere incident in the foreign import trade, but to men of vision it was endlessly suggestive; suggestive of the day when these historical regions of Asia shall once more take their place in the world's commerce and the ancient, long forgotten vast tracts—Palestine, Mesopotamia, Nineveh, Babylon—come again under cultivation along the lines of modern science and with other Old World peoples are

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finally brought under governments of rational, well-ordered democracy.

I said the solution of immigrants could be summed up in one word—distribution, but it requires four to state the remedy for emigration: good government at home. Good government at home means practically the end of that restless universal desire to go abroad. We have seen this in the case of England, Scotland, Holland, Belgium, France, and every other country that is governed with even the semblance of real democracy. And we have seen how England's wretched misrule of Ireland through generations caused the Irish people to emigrate literally in millions.

"A drift of men
Gone over the sea,
A drift of the dead
Where the men should be."

But through the great Land Purchase Bill, the County Councils, revived industry and self-assertion, Ireland's home affairs have of late years improved to such an extent that emigration has dwindled nearly in proportion to that of the other countries mentioned.

So is it true of Italy, which has arisen from misery to become one of the best governed of modern nations. And, what is the result? Italy's immigration has fallen off like that of France, Spain, or Switzerland.

Think what it will mean when the Balkan states, Greece, Russia, Siberia and China have become reorganized and brought in touch with that modern development which makes Democracy an absolute requirement of any advancing civilization. Immigrants will be in demand in the Old World as well as in the Occident—everywhere.

It is all very well to sift out the undesirables at Ellis Island, Angel Island, and all the other ports of arrival on the Atlantic and Pacific, but it should be remembered that the really dangerous people—those who constitute an actual menace to the Republic—seldom come in the steerage. Occasionally they travel Second Cabin, but usually they are

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found among the First Class passengers. They mean business; they take no chances.

It is not worth while to discuss in detail this whole lamentable piece of legislation—for it is now before that bulwark of the Republic, the Senate. The Bill from beginning to end is an anachronism. It is out of place, out of time. We need every decent immigrant that may come to us. We are losing precisely in proportion as the other new and undeveloped countries of the world are being aroused, reformed, and put upon their financial feet. Within twenty years we shall be advertising for foreigners, just as other nations and even some of our own States and Territories have done already, as a matter of necessity.

The Bill is bad—inexpressibly bad. It should never go on the statute books. I do not believe the Senate will ever pass it. If it does, Mr. Wilson, if consistent with his admirable record on this subject, will veto it. It belongs to the Congressional slag heap.

As a matter of Republican policy, it is arrant madness and might be termed "A measure to insure Republican defeat in 1922." No wonder the solid Democratic South, to whom immigration means little, is for it as vigorously and unitedly—for it means less Republican Congressmen—as it is against reducing the unconstitutional over-Representation by which Woodrow Wilson became President, *de facto,* in 1916, and still remains in the White House although every State in the Union, according to its population and suffrage rights under the Constitution, voted to turn out his Administration, something unprecedented in our political history.

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THE CYCLE OF REVOLUTION

By JOSEPH HAMBLEN SEARS

AN instantaneous photograph of a summer shower shows a number of drops of water, round in form and stationary in the air. The same view with the naked eye gives the appearance of a series of perpendicular lines of water. This is a perfectly familiar phenomenon, and the different forms which the water seems to assume are quite explainable and reconcilable.

An instantaneous view of a government shows a piece of political machinery that appears to be permanent and sufficient unto its purpose. The same government considered through a period of years shows a constantly changing form. No government has ever been alike stationary and satisfactory for any length of time. Doubtless there are many self-evident reasons for this. At all events it seems certain that the individual mental, physical and social standards of living, as well as the form of government itself, are constantly changing though they appear at any one period to be stationary.

In following these developments and changes there appears to be a cycle which repeats itself again and again with remarkable precision throughout history. This cycle commences with small communities wherein the individuals, because of their limited number, can assemble in one place and accomplish what is called government. Through this assembly of those actually concerned a government is evolved which meets the needs of the time and produces what will be conceded to be the end and object of all government—the right and opportunity of human beings to live in con-

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cert to the greatest advantages of all and the restriction of none.

Because this is true the community so governed grows to be more effective than others not so governed, and thus in time acquires power. This power—so the cycle seems to dictate—then tends to reach out and include other and less powerful groups, absorbing them, or admitting them to a share in the original government.

It then appears that the original group becomes so large that the individuals cannot gather in one place and legislate. They therefore divide into groups, assemble in various places and select representatives who assemble elsewhere and govern the whole. The growth of power so attained moves the new group on another step making it more effective than any other competing groups, until the latter are absorbed; and thus representatives of representatives are selected who in their turn gather together and govern the enlarged whole.

THE GERM OF ABSOLUTE MONARCHY

It appears to be an inevitable result of this development that in time this largest group or nation becomes top-heavy. There is a tendency to skip the series of representatives and jump from the individuals to the apex of the government, thus bringing about a direct relation between the people and the ruler. From this direct contact some sort of absolute monarchy results. It appears to be a necessary adjunct to this latter stage that some single figurehead or ruler shall exist to whom the people, the different minorities and even the legislators and magistrates can appeal. The enormous expense and difficulty of selecting this individual periodically, the appalling abuse of power in effecting this choice, leads in time to the permanency of a single man in the office of ruler during his life time and to the succession of his family or choice in order to thwart the complications of the choice of a successor by the people upon his death.

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Gibbon, with his well-known philosophic humor, says:

> "Of the various forms of government which have prevailed in the world an hereditary monarchy seems to present the fairest scope for ridicule. Is it possible to relate, without an indignant smile, that, on the father's decease, the property of a nation, like that of a drove of oxen, descends to his infant son, as yet unknown to mankind and to himself; and that the bravest warriors and wisest statesmen, relinquishing their natural rights of empire, approach the royal cradle with bended knees and protestations of inviolable fidelity? Satire and declamations may paint these obvious topics in most dazzling colors, but our most serious thoughts will respect a useful prejudice, that establishes a rule of succession, independent of the passions of mankind; and we shall cheerfully acquiesce in any expedient which deprives the multitude of the dangerous and, indeed, the ideal, power of giving themselves a master. In the cool shade of retirement, we may easily devise imaginary forms of government, in which the scepter shall be constantly bestowed on the most worthy by the free and incorrupt suffrage of the whole community. Experience overturns these airy fabrics, and teaches us that, in a large society, the election of a monarch can never devolve to the wisest, or to the most numerous, part of the people."

In the historical cycle under consideration this single pre-eminent head in time accumulates prejudice on the part of minorities, and thereupon the last stage is reached, the organization breaks up, and there is a return to the small groups of individuals who can meet in one place and govern themselves.

It would be ridiculous to maintain that this is the history of government during the last five or six thousand years; but it would be just as ridiculous to try to prove that any form of government anywhere at any time has remained stationary, or that it can ever do so.

At the time of the settlement of what is now the United States this progress of the cycle was in operation. Certain changes in Europe and the British Isles led individuals to leave their native lands and migrate to the new country to found new communities where people might live and have a government more in accordance with their desires. Out of this came the New England town meeting and a form of

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self-government of small communities which admitted of the first step in the cycle. With the growth of power in the community, the ability to throw off British rule arrived, and the United States was founded upon a single document based on the experience of many centuries. This Constitution drawn up by the wise prevision of its authors in simple and flexible form has lived for a century and a half and guided the legislators of a country that, beginning with a population of a few thousands, has now reached the number of a hundred and five millions.

At the same time that the number of inhabitants has increased so enormously the standard of education has risen beyond all past experience and the elimination of distance by means of the post, the telegraph and the railway has tended to make the area of the country smaller. While the individuals cannot now gather in open meeting and legislate, while indeed they can only meet and choose representatives who shall in turn choose representatives to govern them, the ability of each one of the many millions to know what all the others are doing within a few hours has been infinitely increased. A statesman or a mountebank can get a hearing over millions of square miles before millions of people as easily as the town selectman could get a hearing in the town meeting of former days.

PROBLEMS OF FREEE SPEECH AND EDUCATION

This situation presents a problem that has existed in similar form from time to time throughout history and that is no nearer a solution than it was in the days of Augustus, except for the absence of slavery, the existence of the right of free speech and a higher standard of education. The resistless movement of this historic cycle is already apparent in this country even in the short space of two centuries, and the last few years—due perhaps to the European War—seem to show already a tendency for the head of the nation to appeal much earlier than heretofore over the heads of the representatives directly to the individual citizens.

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Macaulay's statement that the American Republic would not be proved until the United States contained manufacturing cities such as existed in England seems, therefore, about to be put to the test, and it becomes interesting to speculate on what changes in our apparently rigid form of government will become necessary in order that the completion of the cycle may at least be delayed and a hundred million people retain a voice in the direction of their own state.

With its immensely diverse interests in manufacturing cities and farming districts, with the varied outlook of the inhabitants of temperate and semi-tropical climates, of mountaineers and lowlanders, all in constant touch and instantaneous communication as if they were living in the same township, how is it possible for majorities to rule with justice? How is it possible to prevent minorities from controlling much legislation? How is it possible for one code of laws to suit all and prevent constant appeal over the heads of representatives to the head of the nation? And, finally, how is it possible to avert the last stages of the great cycle?

It is safe to say that no one who is a normal citizen desires to see his native land disappear. Feeling thus he would wish to take any steps to prevent this rounding out of the cycle. Judging from the past the only steps which can be taken to prevent this tendency are those which look towards the preservation of the small gatherings of voters who shall select representatives in such limited numbers that they can assemble in one hall and there legislate for the whole country untrammelled by any local instructions, free to act and vote as seems to them for the greatest good of the country at large, and assured that no steps are to be taken by which either the citizens or the ruler shall attempt to act without employing the methods prescribed by the Constitution.

To accomplish this the integrity of the suffrage and the faith of the voter in his vote must be maintained. That is

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to say, the man or woman who votes must not only be conscious of the importance to the country of his or her vote, but all must know that once that vote is cast and the representatives chosen upon certain political lines there shall be no appeal until the period of office of those representatives is ended. To create and maintain this confidence the choice presented to the voter must be an alternative, as clearly cut, as diametrically opposed as possible. That means that in our democratic form of government there cannot safely be more than two parties. They may be called Republican and Democratic, Liberal and Conservative, Progressive and Reactionary, or any of a number of other names, but in the final analysis they are the "Ins" and the "Outs," those who hold the reins of government and those who do not, those who constitute the "Government" and those who constitute the "Opposition." Just as long as the voters believe in the efficacy and power of their vote and have faith in those to whom they thus delegate their unquestioned authority—just as long as the voter has presented to him an alternative, a single choice of this or that—just so long will the thought of an appeal from the people to the ruler, or *vice versa,* be kept out of the public mind. Whenever, on the other hand, the voters lose their faith in the right of suffrage, or lose their faith in their chosen representatives, history shows that large minorities will appeal to the ruler over the heads of their discredited delegates, and in turn the ruler will go direct to the proletariat.

PARTY GOVERNMENT A BULWARK

Party government in the sense of two and only two parties is a bulwark against the disruption of a republic; and in so far as this principle is disregarded and the choice of the voter is allowed to range over three or more parties the opportunity for the control of minorities and the hastening of the loss of faith in the efficacy of suffrage is increased. One of the greatest evils of war is the elimination for the time being of this division of the body of voters into

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two parts. In the European War just ended the division of parties necessarily disappeared to a great extent. The Republican Party, in opposition at the beginning of hostilities, had to support the Democratic Party, then in power, or not only be charged with, but be guilty of, lack of patriotism. Any great moral question, such as a war, inevitably unites all citizens temporarily and thus provides for future disruption into several small and yet powerful groups. The period which follows such a war thus becomes a fertile time for what has recently come to be called "direct action," or the appeal of powerful minorities direct to the ruler. The action of labor in this country during the war, the action of the miners in England this year, the action of the police in Boston a year ago are all plain attempts to discredit regularly constituted representatives whose function it is to govern, and to usurp that function temporarily.

These attitudes naturally tend to produce direct action upon the part of the head of the nation in an attempt to settle a deadlock or cut the Gordian knot. After a sufficient number of such relations between ruler and citizens without due action on the part of legislative and judicial divisions of the government, the practice becomes a custom, and finally the law of the land. The fixing of prices, the limiting of output, the control of whatever in life are the inalienable rights of the individual—all tend to the same result.

Under Diocletian in the first years of the 4th century it is interesting as an example to note that an edict was issued throughout the Roman Empire against the "extortion and inhumanity of the merchants and vendors." It fixed maximum prices throughout the empire for all necessaries and commodities of life—oil, salt, honey, butcher's meat, poultry, game, fish, vegetables, fruit, the wages of laborers and artisans, schoolmasters and orators, clothes, skins, boots and shoes, harness, timber, corn and wine.

Under Wilson in 1919 in the United States a similar

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action in the fixing of prices of sugar, coal and other commodities is a directly analogous instance. Neither Diocletian nor Wilson need be charged with selfish motives, but the nations which they governed must necessarily be charged with lack of faith in the established laws of life, the function of which was and is to undertake the work accomplished in these instances by the rulers themselves.

Both cases are instances of the decline of democratic government resulting directly from the state of mind of the citizens themselves. Both tend toward a new stage in the cycle of political revolution. One can be followed to its close by history; the other is in the course of making history.

WHITHER ARE WE TENDING?

It is difficult for anyone but a philosopher or an historian, alike unaffected by contemporary events and contemporary passions, to disregard the influences of the moment and consider with calmness and vision the tendencies of government that move only in hundred year cycles. It is hardly possible for any one to do so at a time like the present when he and his fellowman have just passed through a national election; but the similarity of the episodes that have taken place in the United States and Europe in the last five years to those which took place in Rome, for example, in the early centuries of the Christian era, to say nothing of other periods, is most striking. It arrests the attention and startles the complacency of the most indifferent citizen. It leads the thoughtful man to ask: "Whither are we tending?"

If our government is to be maintained and perpetuated, it must be kept within the bounds of two political parties to which the representatives elected by the people owe their allegiance. Those who have the right of suffrage must be given the choice of two groups. Any attempt to inject a third or other choice or party must be frowned upon as tending to open the way for minority control, for the de-

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struction of clean-cut issues and for appeal from ruler to voter without due observance of the great laws that govern democracies.

Whoever demands a specific point as a condition of his vote is in this sense faithless to his government and is working for its downfall. Whoever on the other hand sinks his own particular theories and makes his choice from one of the two great divisions, thus securing the best he can under the circumstances, is faithful to his government and is working for its healthy maintenance. If the millions of voters in this land follow the latter course no one of them will secure just what he wants. All will concede something. But in the end a definite and clear policy will be maintained, the majority will control, no minority will be able to rule, and no ruler will be able to appeal from the representatives to the represented.

In this country we are still in the stage where two parties in the main exist. But there are unmistakable signs of a tendency to break up into more and smaller divisions. The Prohibition party, the Labor party, the Socialist party, the League of Women Voters—all exist for special purposes. They are in the nature of crusades. They all demand from one or the other of the two great parties acquiescence in their particular ideas as a condition of their support. Their existence weakens the power of representative government. Their view is that if their particular creeds are not accepted, they may and will appeal over the heads of the accredited law-makers to the ruler himself; and this last is a familiar step in the decay of representative government all through the history of the world.

UNDER MINORITY RULE

In 1912 Theodore Roosevelt attempted to form a third party, and the result was the election of the Democratic party to the control of the government by a minority of the voters of the country. Strictly speaking a minority ruled this republic for eight years as a result. In 1918 President

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Wilson appealed directly to the voters asking support against their representatives. Strictly speaking this was the method of a despot which is familiar to any one who reads history. Both these contemporary instances represent evil tendencies. Both tend to hasten the historic development of the cycle. Both represent attitudes hostile to the preservation of government of the people by the people for the people.

Whether such acts produce temporarily a good or bad result does not matter. They must always be harmful influences working against the successful operation of representative government, and they assist in the progress of a decline.

Such variations in the regular order are only possible when the faith of the individual in his vote is lost and when his faith in his government has weakened. Undoubtedly the size of the nation tends to dull this sense of responsibility and faith. In the town meeting the great majority of citizens always tends towards altruistic thought and action. The facts that the voters are grouped openly for legislation brings about a greater sense of personal responsibility. When the suffrage is exercised in thousands of voting booths that sense of responsibility decreases. The individual is not on his mettle. He will frequently not go to the polls at all. He fails to realize the importance of his vote among so many millions of other votes, though in reality one vote is just as important amongst millions as among hundreds, in so far as all results are necessarily the sum of the action of the individuals.

Undoubtedly also the temper of the voters at any one moment has much to do with the result of any tendency. In the two isolated instances just mentioned—and there are many others that might be cited—it would be as ridiculous to maintain that Theodore Roosevelt attempted to make himself king of the United States as to assert that Woodrow Wilson was trying to make himself emperor of the world. Both these men were merely endeavoring to carry

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out what to them seemed the great demands of progress in their own day. Both were interpreting the sense of at least a large minority of their countrymen. If it had happened in either case that the majority instead of the minority had agreed with them, then their purposes would have been accomplished and another step in the revolving cycle would have been consummated. Both men were undoubtedly great leaders, and a great leader must always keep ahead of current thought. In that sense they, therefore, only represented in their individual persons tendencies of their time.

THE HOPE OF OUR COUNTRY

The hope of our country, therefore, rests now and always in the consciousness of individual responsibility and individual faith. The life of the nation is the life of the individuals who compose it. The political integrity of the nation is made up of the political faith of the individuals who compose it. So long as that faith is strong the nation will be strong. Whenever that faith weakens or disappears the nation will as surely weaken and disappear. Its leaders will lead it to strength or weakness as it is strong or weak in itself. The loss of this political faith brought about the end of the Greek and Roman republics. The growth of this sense of political faith brought about the end of the French monarchy and, in our own day, the end of the Russian, the Austrian and the German empires.

At the present moment this nation has again decided who shall be its representatives, and what shall be its immediate future. The political faith of the great majority was in this instance strong for the maintenance of the normal existence of the Republic on the lines of our Constitution. So long as that faith translated into conviction gathers around the two parties and adopts one or the other of the two political beliefs which they represent, the progress of the cycle is delayed. No individual perhaps will be entirely satisfied, but all will be forced to confess that the majority

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has decided and that the best has been done that could be done under the circumstances. If on the other hand the political faith of the whole community had been weak or wanting, minorities with strong convictions upon specific points would have controlled, and the sentiment of the whole nation would not have been clearly represented in the new Administration. The result of this last naturally would have caused dissatisfaction, which leads in time to an appeal direct to the head of the government because it breeds contempt for, and lack of faith in, democracy. The election of 1916 was of this character, and the results of it have increased the growth of the strength of minorities.

It may be maintained that such an attitude precludes all chance of advancement; that under this method Labor would be lost; that the great work of Prohibition would be set aside; that Woman Suffrage never would have obtained a hearing; that, in other words, crusades and revolutions are at times necessary.

Revolutions necessitate the overthrow of existing governments. If existing government is always conducted by a majority of the citizens through universal suffrage, there cannot and will not be any revolution, since any such revolutionary tendencies necessarily must be conducted by a minority which, upon resorting to the use of force or any other means than that of the ballot, becomes the instigator not of a revolution, but of a rebellion. A rebellion only becomes a revolution when it is successful. No rebellion can succeed in a republic having universal suffrage unless a majority supports it, and when a majority does support it, it becomes the new government by the suffrage of the people before it can become a revolution.

This is only another way of saying that political faith in our government on the part of the citizens will perpetuate that government in some form; whereas loss of political faith, or even loss of political interest and responsibility, will surely destroy it.

It is no doubt true that democracies are wasteful of time

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and money and energy, but no form of government ever has existed upon this earth which approaches a representative democracy in its power to accomplish the purpose of all government—the right of every man to seek happiness in his own way only circumscribed by the rights of all.

It should seem, therefore, that a man's faith in his ballot was as important to him as his faith in his family, his career and his religion; and that if this faith is maintained in this country, the United States, unlike many nations in history, will at least delay the progress of that cycle of development which has occurred so many times before. There is nothing impossible in the perpetuation of a government; there is nothing impossible in the contention that it can endure for centuries. It is only necessary that the political faith of the citizens shall be strong, that the citizens shall enjoy and use their right of universal suffrage, and that they shall see to it that the political divisions or parties shall never exceed two. If any of these conditions is for any reason annulled, then and at that time the cycle begins again to move and progresses with surprising force to its inevitable conclusion.

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THE DIRECT PRIMARY

System is Expensive

By HON. JAMES W. WADSWORTH, JR.

I DO not happen to have before me a copy of the platform adopted at the unofficial Republican State Convention held at Saratoga last summer. My recollection is that the platform contained a recommendation to the effect that all State-wide elective officers and State judicial officers (Court of Appeals and Supreme Court judges) should be nominated in delegate conventions. My recollection may be somewhat inaccurate as to this, but in any event I am heartily in favor of doing away with the direct nomination of candidates for State offices and State judicial offices.

I am convinced, as the result of interesting personal experience and pretty extensive observation, that a system of direct nominations, covering a constituency as large as the State of New York, is unnecessarily expensive to the taxpayer, confusing to the enrolled party voter and conducive to a state of affairs in which it becomes increasingly difficult to persuade strong representative men to present themselves as candidates for high public office. The system, when applied to a large constituency, becomes a hit-or-miss affair, liable to control by selfishly inclined propagandists and by utterly fortuitous circumstances. The great mass of the en-

* The proposal in New York State to reduce the scope of the Direct Primary Law will undoubtedly attract wide attention throughout the country. The direct primary principle was only accepted in this State after a bitter fight, and even after the law was put on the books it was studied by political leaders more for the purpose of evoiding its underlying principle than in making it truly productive.

On the other hand it is contended by men of clear understanding and sound intellect that it never was more than an experiment, and that the present form is necessarily temporary. The views of such distinguished proponents of a change as Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler and Senator Wadsworth will be read with interest necessarily. Equally interesting, however, are the views of the judges and of the so-called "practical" politicians, which will follow later.—Editor of THE FORUM.

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rolled voters, in the very nature of things, cannot possibly know much about the qualifications of each of a large number of candidates for a lengthy list of offices. The enrolled voter has little or no chance to select the man he thinks best qualified to represent the party as a candidate. Men present themselves as candidates and employ all the arts and methods of publicity in a desperate attempt to prove that they are the best fitted. Often these same candidates are supported by groups whose motives and methods of operation are a mystery to the enrolled voters of the party.

When the direct nominating system was first established it was asserted confidentially by its proponents that it would do away with machine domination and so-called boss rule. Experience shows that it has failed utterly in this regard and that hundreds of thousands of enrolled voters fail to attend the primary polls and leave to a minority of the enrolled voters the decision as to which of several men, each demanding public office, should be selected.

The effect of direct nominations upon the State judiciary is most unfortunate. We see in nearly every nominating primary men of distinctly mediocre ability presenting themselves in considerable numbers as candidates for nomination to high judicial offices. Some painful examples of this were noted during the recent primaries in New York State. The people, always anxious to select the very best men for judicial office, found themselves bombarded, harried and distressed by the vociferous candidacies of ambitious and, in some cases, inconspicuous lawyers. The confusion, the utter lack of dignity, the exceeding difficulty experienced in finding men of sound legal accomplishments willing to enter such a free for all race, have a most distressing effect upon the security and dignity of judicial office.

I believe that the State convention should be restored under the law; and, furthermore, that the convention should be composed of delegates elected directly by the enrolled voters in the primary. In other words, I am in favor of the direct primary for the election of delegates to a State convention but I am not in favor of direct nominations for State

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officers. In the same way, I believe that judicial conventions should be restored and the delegates elected to them directly at the party primary.

I am not prepared to say at this time whether or not we should go any further in restoring delegate conventions. The whole question involves infinite ramifications, some of them very complicated—notably the nomination of municipal officers in a great city like New York. The legislature is entirely competent to solve these problems with wisdom and discretion and I would not propose any hard and fast lines from which the legislature should start or at which it should end changes in the present law.

The above is a very brief discussion of this exceedingly important and interesting topic and I do not pretend to say that it includes a consideration of all the important elements involved. Indeed, there are several other weaknesses and failures of the direct nominating system which are worthy of serious consideration; notably, the increased power of money and the disintegrating effect upon political parties.

Direct Primaries a Waste

By NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER

FOR many years I have expressed my opinion of this law and the principles which underlie it, both publicly and privately. Perhaps the most definite and precise expression of my views is to be found in my address entitled "What is Progress in Politics?" delivered before the Commercial Club of Chicago, Illinois, on December 14, 1912.

Primary elections as we know them are an anomaly in democratic governments and are distinctly reactionary in character and in effect. The primary election is unknown in such thoroughgoing democracies as France, Great Britain, and Canada. In the United States it attained importance first in the South, where it was used as a device to exclude the negro from participation in the choice of public officers. In many other States, the so-called "white prim-

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aries" that are held in the month of August are in effect the final selections. What happens on the first Tuesday after the first Monday of the following November is only a matter of form.

A government that is quickly responsive to public opinion and that truly represents the will and the purpose of the major portion of the electorate will best be obtained by fixing the mind of an electorate once and once only upon the choice of a suitable incumbent for a given public office. There should never be but one election, and that the final and definitive one, if public interest is to be fully aroused, public co-operation most largely developed, and the public will most fully expressed.

Access to the ballot for use in this final election should be open on equal terms to any candidate sufficiently supported by a body of nominators, whether these consist of an organized political party or not, to justify the State in going to the trouble and expense of submitting the name to the electorate. The ballot should make no discrimination either in favor of political parties or against them, but should put every nominee before the electorate under like and equal conditions.

How a given political party proceeds to select its nominee is no more a matter to be controlled by statute than the method by which the Methodist Episcopal Church selects its bishops. The notion that party organizations and party "bosses" are troubled or interfered with by direct primary laws is a colossal joke. Party organizations and party "bosses" thrive under the operation of such laws, as do demagogues, self-seekers, and those who have or can command large sums of money with which to advertise themselves and to promote their several candidacies. Consultation and deliberation are wholly excluded under such a scheme, and the quality of the public service steadily deteriorates from year to year. The exceptions to this in our recent political history are just about sufficient to prove the rule.

The American people fritter away an immense amount

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of time and effort in elections and in preparation for elections. This not only makes good government difficult, but it actually promotes bad government. As a people we should suffer less from agitation, disturbance, propaganda and business depression, if our candidates for President and Vice-President were nominated in September, chosen in November, and inducted into office on January 1 following. The more active and ambitious of the candidates for the Presidency in 1920 were at work collecting money and organizing their friends fully three years before the nominating conventions were held. That a practical and intelligent people should put up longer with proceedings of this sort is ludicrous.

The People Are Against Primaries

By Hon. Bertrand H. Snell

LAST summer and fall, I took considerable pains to get as much information as possible from people in various parts of the State and especially among those who are not known as professional politicians, and, as a result of that inquiry, I came to the conclusion that at least 85 per cent of the thinking people of the State were against direct primaries for State and judicial offices. They appreciate the fact that the unit is so large that the average man did not know who he was voting for and there is no way of really coming in personal contact or getting first hand information in regard to the candidates. In these larger units, I feel they would be better satisfied and want party organization and party responsibility for these offices. In the small units, say from congressional districts down, I feel that we should still keep the direct primary organization and also that we should elect the delegates to all conventions by a direct primary vote so that there will be no possible way of depriving people of the full opportunity to express themselves in the selection of delegates.

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Direct Primary Recognizes Bossism

By HON. G. D. B. HASBROUCK

I HAVE never favored the direct primary. For a while I occupied the position of local leader for Ulster County in what was known as the Republican State machine whose genius was Senator Platt or Governor Odell. I believe every party ought to have machinery with which to give its principles a show of adoption at the ballot box. I believe in a political leader—if he will stand for honest, capable men in public office and measures designed for the best interests of the people. Past experience has demonstrated that we have had leaders who stood for incapable and dishonest men and who would sell the power of the machine for dollars and cents. There was on the whole not enough of that to condemn the old system. The direct primary did not eliminate bossism. It recognized it by law. It has become impossible in large political units to get rid of a useless or corrupt boss. There is no opportunity for cabal like under the old system where by combination a boss could be relieved of his power overnight.

In this county for several years back we have been holding unofficial county conventions. Their decrees have been respected in all but one instance and in that the primary approved the work of the convention.

The direct primary does not pay the price of its enormous cost. In it the people get nothing for their money, the newspapers much for useless printing.

The direct primary puts a nauseating premium on the self-seeker, makes such candidates poor and renders them only too susceptible to the temptations of bribery. It puts a penalty on modesty and deprives the public of the services of men who could be persuaded to serve if the opportunity might come without obeisance to the boss or without rivalry with party associations or self-exploitation in that rivalry.

The Government cannot by legislation make parties; nor by legislation destroy them. It ought to confine itself to

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giving parties the means of expressing themselves by ballot and then take the result. Its punishments against the sale of political influence ought to be great, and against hishonesty in public office ought to be exemplary.

The Direct Primary Must Stand

By HON. CHARLES C. LOCKWOOD

IF the recent Republican victory in the State is interpreted by the leaders to mean that people want to return to the old style convention system, I think they are wrong. Like all other laws, the Direct Primary Law will have to be amended from time to time, in order to make it more satisfactory and workable.

Under the convention system, from three to ten men controlled and made the nominations. Under the Primary system, it is more difficult for the leaders to control, and hundreds of thousands participate in the Primary. Personally, I think it better for the Party to give these several hundred thousand an opportunity to express their views and the leaders should be satisfied with the great advantage given them, through the development by them of the "unofficial" convention, after which they attempt to "tag" the fellow who does not like their decision as irregular.

Repeal Would Mean Defeat

By DARWIN R. JAMES, JR.

THE fact is that not in a single instance where people of a State have adopted a direct primary have they ever gone back to the old convention system.

The leaders of the Republican party will make a fatal mistake if they repeal the Direct Primary Law. Its repeal will result in the overwhelming defeat of the party at the next election. At least, that is my conviction.

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The ideal law is one which embraces the feature outlined in the Hinman-Green Bill introduced in the Legislature during the governorship of Charles E. Hughes and supported by him. This includes the designation of candidates for all offices by properly constituted party committees. The designating committee for the State draws the party platform. The designated candidates are given first place on the ballot. Other candidates put forward by independent groups through signatures to petitions are given their place on the ballot in alphabetical arrangement.

Among other features provided was length of time after designating committees have acted for the individuals in the party to designate by petition, regulation of meetings of designated committees, etc. The scheme was complete in every detail.

What those who drew the Bill sought to do was to provide by law for just what is done in a club or membership corporation where those active in its management and interested in its welfare suggest through a nominating committee the names of those who would make desirable officers for the ensuing year. The names selected are posted and opportunity is given for members generally to nominate opposition. The election which in this case is the Primary decides.

Should the leaders of the Republican Party amend the law so as to provide for the features enumerated above, the voters at the next election would confirm rather than repudiate what has been done.

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A SHELF OF NEW BOOKS

By GABRIEL YORKE

WHEN a novelist turns historian he can be counted upon to prove himself to be—a novelist. Sir Walter Scott wrote a "Life" of Napoleon. The author of "The Vicar of Wakefield" wrote a history of Greece. Neither students of literature nor of history turn to these books except in a spirit of curiosity. It is true that H. G. Wells in his new "Outline of History" (Macmillan) honors Goldsmith's history as one of his sources, but this merely proves the truth of the opening sentence above.

There is this to be said for the two volumes of history which Wells has written; he has produced a work which was badly needed, a work which ought to be and which will be widely read, a useful work and one that is readable and entertaining, but not a great one nor one that will be read as many years hence as almost any of the Wells novels.

What Wells has attempted to do is to narrate the whole of that epic which began with the first cooling off of the earth and which had its latest but not final episode in the signing of the Treaty of Versailles last summer. And write that epic he did. But write good history he did not, owing mainly to the emphasis he gives to men and political events in prejudice to underlying causes and social institutions or, in other words, to a fallible sense of proportions.

The "Outline of History" is a work which would have been written perhaps ten years ago by one of our philosophical historians were it not that the fear of comments from within their own profession keeps these scholars from rendering so good a service to the man on the street. They have found it much safer to select and write in narrow fields where within reasonable time they become so authoritative that none can dispute them on even the most trivial points.

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Buckle evidently had something of the Wells idea in mind when his death left us with nothing more than his famous Introduction completed; and from what we know of the four books of that Introduction it is safe to say that it would have been a work which only the deepest students of history might have enjoyed. In 1912 James Harvey Robinson published an outline of "The History of the Intellectual Class in Western Europe" which, in spite of its title, is every bit as inclusive as the Wells volumes. Robinson, most unfortunately, put together nothing more than a syllabus though as it stands it is a wonderful skeleton for just such a work as Wells has attempted to write. With the exceptions of a few men whom Wells mentions in his introduction none but Wells and Robinson has attempted to do this sort of thing.

It were not fair to criticize the Wells book as a serious study in history. In his introduction he has defined his effort: "It has been written primarily to show that history as one whole is amenable to a more broad and comprehensive handling than is the history of special nations and periods, a broader handling that will bring it within the normal limitations of time and energy set to the reading and education of an ordinary citizen. This outline deals with ages and nations and races, where the ordinary history deals with reigns and pedigrees and campaigns. . . . "

It is just on the points in these quoted remarks that the work is open to criticism.

He does not give a broader handling than do the ordinary histories. True, his theme is wider than one the professional historian would attack but the handling is extremely old-fashioned.

In spite of intentions and promises and although he demonstrates that the history of mankind had its beginnings before the earth was solid he speaks of "prehistoric times" (the days of the Greek *Iliad,* the Teutonic sagas and the vedas of old Sanscrit). This cannot but be confusing to the "ordinary citizen." He allows Rome to fall with

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its familiar thud and the French Revolution—which to him means the Terror only—comes with the usual rush. Underlying causes he neglects all through his work. Did not the limitations of the Romans in science differentiate them so little from the barbarians that the latter were able not only to quickly come to Roman intellectual levels but to bring about an adulteration of Roman life rather than the mere fall of a dynasty? Did not feudalism, hanging on until it became an anachronism, have something to do with the upheaval in France? Yet Wells gives but a page to feudalism and the "ordinary citizen" is left without explanation of Rome's fall.

The breadth and comprehensiveness which he promises are further choked off by his turning moralist and scolding at such figures as Alexander the Great and Napoleon. The latter himself said that his whole career was worth no more than a page in history: Wells gives him a whole chapter. For Alexander he does as much. Why entire chapters to each of these men, their personal ambitions and military campaigns, in an outline which has nothing to do with "pedigrees and campaigns," when the sciences, the arts and economic life of their times do not receive equal attention?

This following of conventional lines betrays the author into displaying annoying disproportions and unforgivable omissions. The fact that the spectacular in the lives of such as Alexander and Napoleon and in the Terror gives chances for the play of a novelist's imagination explains why in contrast to his treatment of these he has no more to say of Lincoln than "we cannot . . . tell here how President Lincoln (born 1804, died 1865, President from 1861) rose to greatness . . . and how the federal government of the Union was preserved," or of Simon Bolivar than that "he was the Washington of South America." Twenty-seven words to say of that Lincoln who preserved one of the three most important nations of the present world! That Lincoln who during the recent war wielded

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such a great influence with both statesmen and populace in Wells' own England! This will not help clear up the "ordinary citizen's" ideas on values in history. And it is only one instance of disproportion.

All the kings of Europe have their places in this Outline: so, too, do the Gladstones, Bismarcks, Metternichs, Talleyrands, Machiavellis, Abu Bekrs, Pan Chaus, Scipios and Cleons, but not a mention is made of Erasmus; nor of the first writer on modern international law, Grotius; nor Petrarch, "the first modern scholar"; Descartes is dismissed with a line; Dante "who knew all that could be taught" in his day is covered in one line in which he is described as the first writer of modern Italian—and what an opportunity is presented in comparing what he knew with what the schoolboy learns today; Plato, Kant, Rousseau, Aristotle, Voltaire—none of these nor the tens of others who added to man's store of knowledge of himself and his world fare as they ought in an Outline which gives eleven pages to Charles the Fifth, the Hapsburg, and his personal ambitions and successes in politics, and a wealth of details on the malevolent influences of Olympias, mother of Alexander.

His attempt, Wells tells us, is an effort "to tell how our present state of affairs, this distressed and multifarious human life about us, arose in the course of vast ages and out of the inanimate clash of matter. . . . "

What are some of the factors in "our present state of affairs, this distressed and multifarious human life about us"? There are science, the state, trades unions, the doctrine of democracy, buying and selling, the problem of Russia, the League of Nations, not forgetting the many others. Now let us examine whether this "Outline of History" shows how any of those mentioned developed.

It must be admitted that with the League of Nations he has done admirably; with the others, poorly.

Of the development of science he gives us only the beginnings with snatches here and there in later times. His "ordinary citizen" will get no clear idea of how alchemy de-

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veloped into chemistry or astrology into astronomy or incantations and sacrifice into medicine. He does give mere mention to Copernicus, Galileo, Harvey, Newton, Lyell, Livy, Euclid, Anaxagoras, Roger Bacon, and Kepler. Pasteur is omitted; Boyle is omitted; so are Hippocrates, Leibnitz, Lavoisier, Halley and Pythagoras.

And yet of Olympias we are given such details as her jealousy of her husband and her passion for religious mysteries.

On the doctrine of democracy—we have already seen his treatment of Lincoln and Bolivar; but one looks in vain for a connected story of those ideas in the common man which at one period of his history allowed him to accept Alexander's proof of descent from the gods and at a later period would not permit even fishwives to believe it of Napoleon (Napoleon's own statement) and which in our own times caused two million Americans to cross the Atlantic to fight side by side with Frenchmen and Englishmen, not for any emperor or king but for the preservation of a conception of the state.

And yet of Olympias we read such insignificant matter as her ancestry and how she happened to meet her husband for the first time.

On man's struggle for food, clothing and shelter (buying and selling) he does well down through the Neolithic Period. From then on there are only glimpses of it and not satisfactory ones. Which is more important for Wells' "ordinary citizen's" proper understanding of these times, the method in which the Greek slave sweated and toiled or the technical details of how Greek armies fought? The economic life of a village under feudalism or how Charles V celebrated his own funeral obsequies? The condition of the populace of France just prior to the Revolution, as described, for instance, in Young's Travels, or the details of Marat's skin irritation? The workings of the caste system in India or the looting of Delhi by Nadir Shah? A description of the Russian *Mir*

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and of how it affected rural Russia or the murder of Rasputin?

For that matter, Russian history he uncovers only in spots. Yet without a connected narration of it how can there be any understanding of what it is that is being worked out in Russia today?

So much for where this "Outline of History" falls short.

Its merits lie without its method and success in treatment. The merit lies in the timeliness of a history which will make the "ordinary citizen" realize that the outburst of 1914 was not a disassociated event, that it did not have its beginnings in the minds of a few men who happened to rule Europe at the time, but that these rulers decided to bring to a sudden conclusion a situation which their generation had inherited from the ages. It is a book worth while because it is not written from a single national point of view. Mr. Wells had no lesson to teach—unlike the great German historians of the XIXth Century—for that may he be blessed. And in the writing of it he has put an end forever to an old dodge of publishers, namely, "world histories," unreadable conglomerations compiled by hack writers lacking authority, and issued with nothing to commend them but their uniform bindings. From now on publishers will not dare to put these out, except under the authorship of men of at least Mr. Wells' standing.

Voltaire said that history was a lie agreed upon. This is the first attempt to refute him by the writing of an actual history and not by theoretical discourse. And the attempt is successful in so far as one can be when undertaken by one man and within thirteen hundred pages.

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THE EDITORIAL TABLE

Our Thirty-fifth Anniversary

IN commemorating the thirty-fifth year of the magazine's life-time, there should be gathered around The Editorial Table a distinguished company. It is an occasion when one may excusably exert one's imagination so as to unite the personalities of those, past and present, who have made THE FORUM. A celebrated literary magazine may share the credit of its past with the living. Let us conceive a birthday party at The Editorial Table, at which the new editor, Mr. George Henry Payne, presides, and to whom the old and new contributors of THE FORUM address their congratulations. A most distinguished American is of the company, the tall, impressive figure of Warren G. Harding, the President-Elect. He belongs in the literary company in which he finds himself. He is cordially received. He gives expression to the following words:

"I would be glad and proud to contribute an article to THE FORUM."

This message is from a letter to the editor, and was confirmed by Mr. Harding's contribution to the October number, 1920, called "My Americanism."

Among the phantom figures around The Editorial Table, its most important in Forum chronology is the nervous, electric figure of Isaac L. Rice, the founder, a self-made man who landed in America when he was six years old and who received his early education in Philadelphia. In 1866 he went to Paris to complete his studies. Especially was he interested in music. One of his classmates was the French poet and playwright, François Coppée. Mr. Rice returned to America, and in 1880 was graduated from the Columbia Law School, subsequently being appointed Assis-

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tant Professor of Law at that University. A man of extraordinary energy, his legal practice involved large affairs. He specialized in railroad law and helped to reorganize many great railroad corporations, such as the Brooklyn "L," The Southern Railroad, The Reading Railroad, and others. His hobby was chess in which he excelled, and he was a distinguished inventor in electricity. From these inventions came such organizations as "The Electric-Boat Company," "The Holland Torpedo Boat Company," "The Electric Storage Company." He was the inventor of, or conceived improvements on, the electric vehicle. Nearly thirty corporations, containing the progressive thought of his period, used his patents. A prolific man, a human dynamo, a man of fine art instincts and business capacity, he, in 1886, associated himself with Lorettus S. Metcalf, an American journalist, who had been managing editor of *The North American Review*. Together they founded THE FORUM.

Seated at the table doubtless would be found the various editors of THE FORUM in the past thirty-five years. Among them Mr. Walter H. Page, late American Ambassador to Great Britain. He was once the editor of *The Atlantic Monthly,* subsequently establishing a great publishing business. His appointment was made by President Wilson. The Ambassador's first acquaintance with the President probably came about through Mr. Wilson's contributions to THE FORUM, in the nineties. Associated with Mr. Page was Mr. Alfred Ernest Keet in 1893. Mr. Keet succeeded Mr. Ernest Lambert, who later became Secretary to Mr. Whitelaw Reid on the latter's appointment as American Ambassador to England. Mr. Keet, who was editor from 1895 to 1897, is still on THE FORUM'S editorial staff.

At the Founders' table on this anniversary occasion are seated the contributors to the first number issued March, 1886. They are Andrew Carnegie, David Dudley Field, Bishop Arthur Cleveland Coxe, "Gail Hamilton," Minot J. Savage, James Parton, and others.

Seated about The Editorial Table are the noted contributors to THE FORUM, past and present: Theodore

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Roosevelt, Professor Woodrow Wilson of Princeton, Premier Georges Clemenceau (The "Tiger") of France, Professor Romanes, Justin McCarthy, C. J. Bonaparte, the Duke of Marlborough, Max Nordau, author of "Degeneration," Walter Besant, Henri Rochefort, famous French journalist, Lombroso, the Italian criminologist, Professor William Ferrero of the University of Turin, Maúrus Jókai, Ouida, Canon Farrar, E. O. Shakespeare, General Sir Garnet Wolseley, Greely and Nansen, North Pole heroes, Pierre Loti, the Marquis of Lorne, General Miles the Indian fighter, General Howard, U. S. A., Col. Theodore A. Dodge, an eminent authority on the art of war, the renowned Captain Mahan, U. S. N., author of "Sea Power," ex-Presidents Benjamin Harrison and Taft, U. S. Supreme Court Justice Brown, William Dean Howells, Albert Bushnell Hart, Hamlin Garland, John Gilmer Speed, Senators Sherman and Hill, Dr. L. Emmett Holt, Jane Addams, Eliza Lynn Linton, Agnes Repplier, Alice Zimmern, Bishops Potter and Coxe, Cardinals Manning and Gibbons, the Revs. Dr. Rainsford, C. C. Tiffany, Percy Stickney Grant, Dr. Parkhurst, Professor James Bryce, former Ambassador to Washington, Sir Edwin Arnold, poet and journalist, W. E. H. Lecky, the historian, Prince Peter Kropotkin, Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, Thomas Hardy, Max O'Rell, William James, and others of international celebrity.

The past, however, is a superb background upon which stands out the great future of THE FORUM on its Thirty-Fifth Anniversary. It is the outlook from this distinguished literary atmosphere that interests and concerns its present and coming readers. The recorder of this distinguished gathering, when he became editor three years ago, secured the co-operation of writers who take front rank in the thought of the present day. Let us glance at them around the table.

They include such famous publicists and authors as Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Gov. S. W. McCall, Vice-President Marshall, Secretary Robert Lansing, Senator Hitch-

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cock, Hon. Claude Kitchen, Hon. Frank P. Walsh, Evangeline Booth, Stephen Lauzanne, Senator Gore, Richard Le Gallienne, Senator Irvine L. Lenroot, Max Nordau, Viscount Northcliffe, Senator Lee S. Overman, Hon. Frederic Courtland Penfield, LL.D., Lord Reading, Senator James A. Reed, John Skelton Williams, Charles M. Schwab, Clinton Scollard, Senator Reed Smoot, Lady Henry Somerset, Theodore N. Vail, Frank A. Vanderlip, Governor Charles S. Whitman, Dr. Harvey W. Wiley, Israel Zangwill, Mary Roberts Rinehart, Will H. Hays, Governor James M. Cox, Count Di Cellere, Prof. F. R. Giddings, Homer S. Cummings, Sir Auckland Geddes, Secretary Newton D. Baker, Hon. William Jennings Bryan, Robert W. Chambers, Senator George E. Chamberlain, Rev. William Whiting Davis, Dr. Charles A. Eaton, Charles W. Eliot, George Allan England, Prof. Irving Fisher, Dr. Eugene Lyman Fisk, Mary E. Wilkins Freeman, Samuel Gompers, Rev. Percy Stickney Grant, Hon. John W. Griggs, Prof. J. Stanley Hall, Senator Warren G. Harding, Gustave Hervé, Rupert Hughes, Thomas W. Lamont, Agnes C. Laut.

Particularly fortunate is THE FORUM in passing its editorial direction to Mr. George Henry Payne. In his announcement in the November, 1920, issue Mr. Payne aptly expressed his new responsibility, as follows:

"To recreate their optimism might seem to the somber and discouraged minds that have seen the world a shambles, useless ambition. But something lies in the spirit of the past and if we cannot recreate, we can build on it—'with new and progressive hands'—and in that same Forum, with fairness and without anger, with authority, and without guile or selfishness, work on the problems of our disordered world in the spirit of toleration of the past, in order that once again in the future we may find blessings in belief, if not in past civilization, in future civilization, but always in our Country and our Country's Destiny."

Mr. Payne assumes the editorial responsibility well equipped for the distinction. In 1912 he was associated

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with Theodore Roosevelt as one of his campaign managers besides being his close friend up to the time of his death. Before entering politics himself, Mr. Payne was political editor of *The New York Evening Post.* He was a delegate to the Republican National Convention and prominently concerned in the nomination of General Leonard Wood. He was appointed New York State representative of the State Defense Council. His literary reputation is based upon many years of literary work. Above all, his wide acquaintance, his many friends among the distinguished men of our time is an assurance that THE FORUM will continue to be the leading literary magazine in America.

The expressions of confidence and good-will that are spoken on this occasion at The Editorial Table of THE FORUM convey the impression that it has maintained its editorial character and high purpose. They come from men of wide political divergence and varied interests in public affairs.

They appear in congratulatory messages I have received, and in part are recorded upon this Anniversary. They are presented at our Speaker's Table:

> "I cannot tell you with what keen interest I look forward to reading THE FORUM's enlightening articles on the important topics of the day.
>
> "JOSEPH STRAUSS,
> "Rear Admiral U. S. N."

The Secretary of War sends the following message:

> "THE FORUM is one of the serious reviews which performs a great and useful service in the making of opinion in America, and I trust that it may have many years of usefulness.
>
> "NEWTON D. BAKER,
> "Secretary of War."

The Secretary of Agriculture has caught the true purpose of THE FORUM in his message. While favoring the controversial manner of thought in its pages, he qualifies the importance of public opinion:

> "In the crystallization of an intelligent public opinion which is bound to result from an exchange of the best thought in the Nation,

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lies the source of strength, and, in fact, the very life of a Republic. I extend to you my congratulations.

"E. MEREDITH,
"Secretary of Agriculture."

During the Republican Convention in Chicago, Major-General Leonard Wood successfully revived the national popularity which he has enjoyed. His message to THE FORUM carries the weight of an opinion founded upon pure American instinct:

"I congratulate THE FORUM on its Thirty-Fifth Anniversary. The editor has taken advantage of the opportunities presented by current conditions in American history in helping to stabilize and direct the thought and action of the Nation by presenting the views of strong and well-informed men and women.

"LEONARD WOOD."

THE FORUM foresaw that a political victory was the next great national step forward. This outlook has been amply justified. Therefore, the message from the Chairman of the Republican National Committee explains THE FORUM'S non-partisanship toward politics:

"Yours has been a career of distinction and usefulness. You have lived up to your name honorably. Through your columns in the thirty-five years now gone Americanism at its best has been enunciated and emphasized and sound doctrines promulgated. The value of such a medium in voicing national sentiment and keeping truths before the people cannot be overestimated. In helping to stabilize and direct thought and action, real service has been rendered, and there is continued need of such service.

"WILL H. HAYS,
Chairman Republican National Committee."

The demands of labor, always a forceful national issue, appear to have been impartially handled in the past three years in THE FORUM, judging by the message Mr. Samuel Gompers, President of The American Federation of Labor, sent to The Editorial Table:

"As THE FORUM reaches its 35th Anniversary permit me to offer an expression of good-will and a hope that in the years to come

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your publication may find many opportunities to be of service to the cause of humanity in the truthful presentation of facts and opinions. Perhaps we have never known a time when integrity in journalism was so vital to social safety and human welfare as at this moment. Every man who has the privilege to make use of the written word has an opportunity which carries with it a grave responsibility and a high privilege.

"SAMUEL GOMPERS,
"President American Federation of Labor."

The editorial weave of THE FORUM has never changed its original pattern, or confused it with eccentric or unsound opinion. It is always a sensitive matter to express the exact position which Capital occupies in industrial affairs. Therefore, the congratulatory message from Charles M. Schwab is a valuable hand-shake:

"I think that THE FORUM has done a most useful service in presenting to the public the best thought of leading thinkers in American public life during its career, and it seems to me that it has a great opportunity for usefulness to the public in continuing its present policy. The thinking American public needs such a magazine as THE FORUM.

"C. M. SCHWAB."

A diplomat who has survived the post of American Ambassador to Mexico, ought to know something about diplomacy. Therefore, the message sent by Mr. Henry Lane Wilson indicates that THE FORUM has presented the diplomacy of popular appeal:

"Under your very liberal management THE FORUM has become a real medium for the expression and dissemination of independent opinion on current problems, and in this useful work it has rendered very distinct service to the reading world.

"HENRY LANE WILSON,
"Former Ambassador to Mexico."

The brilliant series of articles written by one of the orators of the U. S. Senate, Lawrence Y. Sherman, which appeared in the magazine in 1919, established its relations, by editorial opinion, with The League of Nations. THE FORUM was eagerly read by the members of the Senate, as Senator Sherman put it in his message:

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"We are all readers of THE FORUM. It has served the public well in giving a hearing to the enduring public questions before the American people. It is what its name implies, a place where there is open and fair discussion. My good wishes go with you and your work.

"L. Y. SHERMAN."

An article written by Henry Cabot Lodge, in the political controversy of The League of Nations, published in THE FORUM, was incorporated in the Democratic Platform, a distinction which Senator Lodge emphasized by stating that he was glad that the article had been published in THE FORUM, and he had no word of it to alter.

His Anniversary message follows:

"I am very glad to join with your other friends, many in number, in congratulating you upon the Thirty-Fifth Anniversary of THE FORUM and wishing it every good fortune and success in the future.

"HENRY CABOT LODGE."

The high purpose of the magazine is recognized by Mr. Homer S. Cummings, Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, who aptly expresses it in his message:

"I know the high purpose which animates your work. I congratulate you upon what has already been accomplished, and feel very confident that THE FORUM will not only be a powerful factor in molding the sentiment of this country, but will occupy an increasing field of usefulness.

"HOMER S. CUMMINGS."

These are the tributes of the present generation, the living admirers of THE FORUM who have gathered around The Editorial Table to celebrate its Thirty-Fifth Anniversary. Summing the occasion up, one leaves the memory of the past record of the magazine in safe hands, and one beholds the outlook with inspired feeling. A magazine is known by its contributors, just as a man is esteemed according to his associates. THE FORUM is in a class by itself in this respect. For the future it will be discerning in its literary adornment, retaining its traditions of high purpose,

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good style, good form, and sound expression of sane thought upon the questions, issues, themes and the trend of affairs that concern us.

EDWIN WILDMAN,
Managing Editor.

Since Mr. Payne has taken editorial charge of THE FORUM, many other congratulatory expressions have come in from well-wishers throughout the nation. Upon this, our Anniversary, we feel gratified to republish some of them as a testimonial from THE FORUM'S friends:

"I was very interested to receive your recent letter, and to learn that you had assumed the editorial leadership of THE FORUM. I am sure that under your guidance it will prosper and be an even more interesting publication than before.

"JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER, JR."

"I congratulate you, and more especially the public, on your acquisition of THE FORUM. You certainly have my very best wishes for its future and the success which I feel sure it will have.

"CLARENCE H. MACKAY."

UNITED STATES SENATE

"I congratulate you on the purchase of THE FORUM and wish for you the greatest possible success.

"TRUMAN H. NEWBERRY."

"I congratulate THE FORUM upon your recent decision to go there.

"THOMAS W. LAMONT."

Cincinnati, Ohio.

"I am very glad, indeed, to learn that you have purchased THE FORUM, and congratulate you upon your new venture. I am confidently hoping and wishing for your success in it.

"WILLIAM COOPER PROCTER."

THE EVENING MAIL

NEW YORK

"You have a wonderful opportunity with THE FORUM. Its title stands for the very thing needed in this country today—a forum of public opinion, a place in which thinking men and women can discuss vital issues.

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The times call for such a discussion in the frankest manner. We need to know what is in each other's minds and purposes.

"You have gotten in a great field and your magazine can be made to be of real service to the country and to all people.

"HENRY L. STODDARD."

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT
ANNAPOLIS, MARYLAND

"I congratulate THE FORUM upon its Thirty-fifth Anniversary. Your free and open discussions entitle your publication to a place of its own, distinct from almost all others, and exercise a potent and compelling influence in shaping the public destiny. There is more need for your standards and policies now than ever before, and I hope for a long continuance of them, for the sake of the wise and sane decisions they tend to promote.

"ALBERT C. RITCHIE,
"Governor."

STATE HOUSE
BOSTON

"It is with a great deal of pleasure that I congratulate you on the celebration of your Thirty-fifth Anniversary. The public have looked to your magazine for instruction and guidance, the maintenance of ideals, and the expression of sound principles of action in private and public life. May you continue to reflect the light of civilization.

"CALVIN COOLIDGE."

"The thirty-fifth anniversary of a faithful public servant, such as THE FORUM, calls for expressions of appreciation of past services; of congratulation on present state of vigor, and of earnest good wishes for the future. All of these you have from me.

"HERBERT HOOVER."

STATE OF INDIANA
EXECUTIVE DEPT.
INDIANAPOLIS

"I take pleasure in congratulating THE FORUM upon its auspicious arrival at its thirty-fifth anniversary. Like the individual, the magazine which reaches the age of thirty-five should be in the hey-day of its usefulness. THE FORUM is no exception to the rule and I feel sure that it has many prosperous years ahead. In this unstable age the opportunities of the sane periodical for good are greater than ever before. We need sound thought,

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written by well balanced men and women. That is what we expect THE FORUM to furnish us and we are seldom disappointed.

"J. P. GOODRICH,
"Governor."

STATE OF OREGON
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT
SALEM

"I am taking pleasure in sending to THE FORUM greetings upon the celebration of its Thirty-fifth Anniversary.

"During that period THE FORUM has maintained the position of being almost a national institution, having been the medium through which our leading minds and all lines of thought have given voice on many occasions to their expressions on every subject of importance to the development of our people. You who have been intimately associated with this magazine may look back with pride upon your accomplishments, and I am certain you look ahead to a long future, equally rich in results.

"BEN W. OLCOTT,
"Governor."

MAYOR'S OFFICE
CITY OF BALTIMORE

"I might just as well be asked to express some thought that would enhance the lustre of the Sun, as to contribute to the glorification already attained by THE FORUM. Let me refrain therefore from what may appear to be indulging in vanity but extend in a humble way best wishes for its continued success. Mighty is Truth.

"WILLIAM F. BROENING,
"Mayor."

"I have yours of the 22nd inst., and am much pleased to note the encouraging plans and prospects for the maintenance and development along old and new lines of THE FORUM. The ideals which you have marked out are hopeful and promising. The great history and personal associations of this magazine furnish a splendid foundation upon which to build. The country is in need of just such a magazine as you propose.

"MILES POINDEXTER."

EXECUTIVE OFFICE
STATE HOUSE
PHOENIX, ARIZONA

"I am pleased indeed to contribute an expression of appreciation of the work your magazine and others of the type are doing within our body

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politic. It appears to me that the main thing lacking in our political system is sober thought. Apparently, it takes something like national disaster, impending or actual, to bring the American public to a full realization of its responsibilities of government. Only by thought, concentrated and persisted in, can our political system be maintained in its integrity, improved at need and protected against the never-ceasing onslaughts of visionaries and destructionists. Sometimes I fear that the visionary, illy balanced and ill-baked, is even more dangerous than the radical of the reddest hue.

"Therefore I give thanks when I find sanity and decency and patriotism all contained within the envelope of a literary publication such as yours. I fear that your message does not reach the class it should, but, nevertheless, a good message is not wasted, even though not dropped where most needed.

"THOMAS E. CAMPBELL,
"Governor."

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